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Inclusive Practice under a Policy of Integration:

Learning from the implementation of support assistant provision in South Korean schools.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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ABSTRACT

The study aims to identify the conditions that appears to be promoting or hindering inclusive practice in S. Korean primary schools. As a lens to give scope and focus, the study looks at the implementation of support assistant provision in mainstream primary classes. It proceeded from the idea of inclusive pedagogy, specifically that the diversity of pupils' educational needs requires teachers to broaden their perspective from 'some or most' pupils to 'everybody', so that none are marginalised (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011).

In S. Korea, the integration of pupils with Special Educational Needs (SEN) into mainstream schools is facilitated by "special" or "additional" support as "compensation" for disability. Formally, that assistance is implemented exclusively by the special education sector and is confined to pupils with formal Statements of SEN. That policy, applied strictly, stigmatises the assisted pupils and gives no authority to class teachers to use assistance more flexibly in a class community.

This study took the form of an instrumental case study. Seven primary school classes in Seoul, were chosen as cases. The methods used to examine daily practice were class observation and semi-structured interview with mainstream class (and subject) teachers. Assistants were also interviewed, both to give more detail about context and for data triangulation.

This study looked at how an individual teacher's views and practice regarding teaching and support and the actual work of a support assistant created class practice and whether and how that practice fitted the official policy and guidelines. The modified Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) was used as a reference for data collection and analysis.

The development of inclusive practice was discussed in the light of the 'some/most or everybody' distinction from the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (IPA) (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). Codes developed from the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) framework (Florian, 2014b) were used to classify evidence of how the three principles from that framework were applied in particular contexts and to show unique patterns of class practice.

To varying degrees, support assistants exercised autonomy in making pedagogical decisions regarding SEN pupils. However, the overall pattern of practice in each class, including the issue of to whom support was given and how, was largely determined by the mainstream class teacher's view and practice. This is where the official structure of

support assistant provision shows conflict in its character: the support assistant is formally not managed by or accountable to the mainstream class teacher but the assistant's activity is as permitted by that teacher.

The study applies the 'some/most' or 'everybody' distinction from two different angles, 1) the availability of support assistance and 2) teachers' perceptions and implementations of the extent of their responsibilities in teaching and supporting.

Regarding 1) availability of assistance, support assistance was used mainly for pupils with SEN. On the other hand, it was also found that, sometimes regardless of a teacher's thinking and/or practice, the demands of pupils' needs in various situations naturally widened the application of assistance. Where a teacher took a widely permissive view, the support assistant was free to help any pupil in the class.

Regarding 2) the teacher's taking responsibility, where the class teacher took responsibility for all of the pupils except for the pupil with SEN ('most' approach), the support assistant worked as a primary instructor for that SEN pupil. Two forms of function of support assistance were identified: (1) as a necessity for including a pupil with SEN or (2) for easing the teacher's workload.

On the other hand, where the 'everybody' approach was manifest in teacher's practice, support assistance was used to complement the teacher's main teaching role. In such cases, support assistance was considered as an asset to support learning by all pupils and to enrich the class community. Where a teacher's practice was inclusive, an exclusive application of support assistance was seen as a barrier to inclusion. However, because of the allocation of control to the Special Education Sector, those class teachers whose practice was broadly inclusive were not inclined (or had given up trying) to actively extend their inclusive practice to their use of support assistance. Therefore, where a teacher took sole responsibility for all of the pupils in the classroom, minimising support assistance was a form of inclusive practice. Furthermore, such teachers, of course, saw the maximising of support assistance as desirable, so that an assistant would be available to help any pupil. Here, conflict is apparent between the prevailing use of support assistance and teachers' views regarding the inclusive use of support assistance.

Different approaches and views lead to different results and implications. Although policy encompassing inclusive education and support assistant provision is driven by special pedagogy and is based on providing a "special" or "additional" approach for some (pupils with SEN), this study found various forms of inclusive thinking and practice driven by the 'everybody' approach. While practice was still inconsistent and imperfect, there

was substantial evidence of inclusive thinking and actions (as accredited by the IPAA) (Florian, 2014b), even in cases where a teacher's practice was widely non-inclusive.

Where policy sees integration as inclusion, practice may have to stretch the bounds of policy to take inclusion forward. The voices of teachers whose practice is inclusive may be persuasive of a need for change. It is common that ideological change brings about change in policy and practice. Here, however, actual practice will justify its theoretical basis. The diverse needs of pupils and teachers' development of individual practice have led naturally to more inclusive practice. Inclusive Pedagogy finds its justification here on practical grounds.

LAY SUMMARY

Understanding learners' diverse needs and how to respond to them can be a challenge that any teacher may face in the classroom. It can be affected by the policy governing the educational context and/or individual perspectives and beliefs about learning and teaching.

The study is about how in classroom practice the diversity in learners is respected, and how any difficulties that a pupil may have are handled by teachers and support assistants in S. Korean classrooms. In S. Korea, to secure a systematic service delivery to those having Special Educational Needs (SEN), the Local Education Authority issues an entitlement. Eligibility for this is stipulated by law based on the category of the disability. Support assistant provision is implemented as one of those related SEN services. However, it has not been investigated how the class teacher sees that provision and how support assistance has actually been applied in mainstream classes. To see the practice, seven mainstream primary school classes in Seoul were observed, where a support assistant was present and I interviewed the class teachers and support assistants.

The result indicates considerable differences in class practice including complexity and inconsistency. As official policy stipulates, examples of exclusive practice are evident, where a teacher takes responsibility for 'general pupils' excluding the SEN pupil and sees support assistance as a special service separate from the teacher's work. Support assistance is still used as an essential condition to accommodate an SEN pupil in the class. However, in general, support assistance is applied not only to the SEN pupils but also to other pupils in a range of situations due to the natural demands of pupils' needs and it is conditional upon the good will of the support assistants to respond to them. More importantly, class teachers who take responsibility for all the pupils in their classes see the universal availability of support assistance as desirable. While policy implies a 'special' approach, practice has been stretched based on teachers' 'inclusive' thinking and actions. This inclusive practice has been developed naturally based on their views on learners, teaching and support. Nevertheless, this good practice has neither been shared nor encouraged.

This study tries to build a platform to share the reality of the classroom in terms of what learners' needs are and how they can be responded to without marginalising any. Identified good practice justifies inclusive practice accredited by theoretical grounds that any pupil may need support for learning and the class teacher has a primary responsibility to respond to those diverse needs. In those circumstances, support assistance can contribute significantly to inclusive class practice.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Inclusive education: from good intentions to practical implementation

In May 2015, the World Education Forum was held in S. Korea, a member of state of UNESCO, UNICEF and other world organisations. The United Nations' agenda of Education for All (EFA) was extended by adoption of 'Incheon Declaration Education 2030' followed by UNESCO 2017 guidance (UNESCO, 2015, 2017). It had been introduced to improve educational equality worldwide to ensure that all children would benefit from a good quality of education, protected by regional frameworks and global agreement (UNESCO, 2010). EFA has developed in ways that improve inclusion through respecting learners' capacity and affirming that they will make progress under a joint enterprise of the whole world community.

At international level, the movement for inclusive education provides a common direction towards the ideal of 'including all' but, although most U.N. member states have collaborated by working towards inclusion, the level of engagement has varied according to the particular social context of each state. In general terms, the development of social and educational inclusion continues to rely heavily on the historical background and 'cultural sediment' (Slee, 2011) which determine each nation's perspective on learning and inclusion. Each society has its own unique points of consensus and conflict across the area of inclusion. Kivirauma and Ruoho (2007) see inclusion as a 'series of actions' at societal level. An example cited is Finland, where part-time special education was established as a part of the basic education system to keep all pupils within the comprehensive school system. Special education is available temporarily but equally to anyone who needs it, which appears to contribute to national success in academic performance (Kivirauma & Ruoho, 2007). Kivirauma and Ruoho urge that, to make inclusion work, pupils' educational needs should be challenged across the agenda of the whole education community and every effort should be made within a societal system to ensure equality and equity. At regional level, following that policy in the society, education authorities have made efforts to modify architecture of buildings, staffing and educational

resources to support and accommodate pupils regardless of their physical, behavioural or intellectual differences.

On the other hand, writing about another context, Corbett (2001) points out that, despite identical guidelines from the same local educational authority (LEA), the mode of operation of inclusive education in different schools may vary. At school level, organisational context is considered to have a significant impact on the development of inclusive practice and inclusive practice is considered to require a process of social learning (Ainscow & Sandill, 2010; Zollers, Ramanathan, & Yu, 1999). Ebersold and Evans (2008) emphasise the importance of the school system and teaching practice. According to them, the main sources of difficulty which a pupil may experience can be the result of the inappropriate receptivity of a school's systems and a poor quality of teaching practice and support rather than the lack of ability of individual pupils due to impairment or disability. Along with school structures and systems and the particular way of responding to individual difference, the quality of teaching and the quality of support at class level are considered to be salient factors.

As Mortimore (1999) points out, even where policy is standard and shared, the form of application of that policy may differ due to complexity in practice. At class level, in lessons, class teachers make a range of decisions. As this present study confirms, a teacher's own perspective on inclusive education inevitably influences not only pedagogical decisions but also the use of educational provision (Hart, 2004), including how support assistance works in the class. The scenarios of operation of inclusive education vary at individual level. A common direction may be agreed at international, regional and school level but class practice may be differently and uniquely interpreted by stakeholders.

1.2. S. Korea: Implementing inclusive education as a pathway of special education

In S. Korea, over the last 40 years since a particular administrative legal framework was introduced in 1977, there have been widespread developments in the field of inclusive education (Kim, 2014). While the international direction on inclusive education has favoured developing a community of all learners, "special" rather than "inclusive" or "education" seems to have been the main focus of effort in S. Korea. Inclusive education

has been implemented for pupils with SEN (special educational needs) through the provision of special education, including planning and instigating IEPs (Individual Education Programmes) and one-to-one support by support assistants[1] in mainstream classes. Inclusive education is dealt with as an agenda of "special education" and those two terms are not always distinguished (Kang, Kang, & Plunkett, 2015; Ministry of Education, 2015a). Eligibility for special education is exclusively by Statement of Need issued by the local education authority (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012). The legal foundation of special and inclusive education has indeed increased the number of disabled pupils who stay with their peers in mainstream schools. On the other hand, the category-based classification of disability and the statement-based service delivery system of special educational provision has produced inequality between pupils. Responding to educational needs as a way of compensating for individual deficiency does not adequately take account of individual uniqueness and differences. As Liasidou & Antoniou (2013) point out, the form of inclusion is diminished where the condition of an individual pupil is the main concern. Göransson and Nilholm (2014) make the criticism that 'where there is a special education needs discourse, inclusion focuses on individual situations rather than adopting the opposite concept under a community definition of inclusion that would consider all pupils'.

Among the special educational provisions put in place to implement inclusive education in S. Korean schools, the one-to-one support assistance has been the core provision in practice. Assistants accompany pupils with Statements of Need in mainstream classes. That support assistance is provided in the place in which the class teacher is required to respond to the diverse needs that pupils display. Two studies have made findings of relevance: first, that three quarters of parents are willing to decline Statements of Need for their children due to their perception of consequent stigmatisation (Park et al., 2006) and, second, that there is a hidden population of children who are in need of support but do not have a Statement of Need (Park, 2012). Although those two findings have not been formally recognised as connected, each raises issues of equality between learners, of educational needs and how to respond them and, more fundamentally, of who ought to benefit from inclusive education. A pupil's need for support in class may be not special but natural and common.

[1] Although 'Special Education Assistant' is the official term - 'support assistant' is used for consistency. The term is explained further in 2.3.4. Support assistant provision in S. Korea.

1.3. Support assistant provision as the expression of inclusive practice

Who are the stakeholders in the operation of inclusive education?

Outwith the agenda of inclusive education, it has become apparent worldwide that there are complex issues involved in the use of support assistants in schools (Blatchford, Russell, Bassett, Brown, & Martin, 2004; Blatchford, Russell, Bassett, Brown, & Martin, 2007; Blatchford, Russell, & Webster, 2012; Blatchford, Webster, & Russell, 2013; Giangreco, 2010; Giangreco, Suter, & Doyle, 2010; Jeong, 2013; Lim, Wong, & Tan, 2014; Trent, 2014; Warhurst, Nickson, Commander, & Gilbert, 2014; Webster et al., 2010). The meaning of "support assistant" varies according to national background policies and cultural contexts (Chambers, 2015) and roles have evolved and changed in ways regarded as best meeting particular aspirations, e.g., to raise academic standards or to improve the quality of educational inclusion (Warhurst et al., 2014).

Politics and public sector economics demand the justification of any policy with cost implications. The understanding of inclusive education and commitment to it and the direction of development of the idea of inclusion determines practice, including the manner of use of support assistance. Whereas in S. Korea the role of the support assistant has developed politically as a provision only for "special pupils", such practice has been seen by researchers in the U.K. as having negative consequences (Blatchford et al., 2007; Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Lehane, 2016; Webster et al., 2011). Different notions of "inclusive education" have been associated with different purposes and have given rise to different forms of practice.

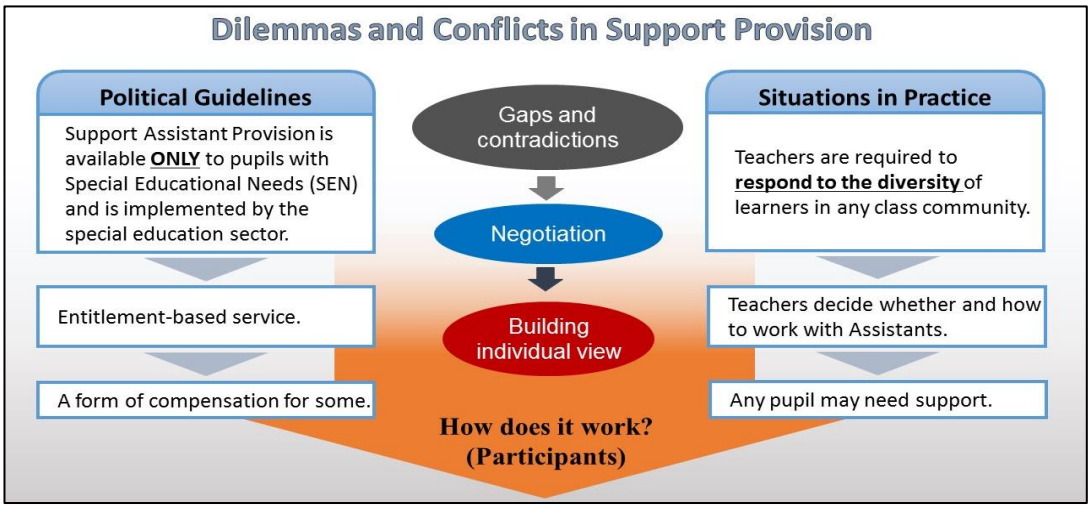
In S. Korea, support assistance has been implemented as the central instrument of educational inclusion. Assistants are considered to be special resources enabling the implementation of inclusive education. Behind that special provision, however, lies a problematic dichotomy in education between inclusive education and special education. The political agenda is to implement inclusion through improving the quality of special education (Ministry of Education, 2015a). Special education is used to implement inclusion in the form of educational integration (Kang et al., 2015; Ministry of Education, 2012). The form of support assistant provision adopted illustrates the contemporary practice of inclusive education.

In addition, and more importantly, even where teachers operate under a common policy on support assistant provision, class contexts of teaching and learning vary depending on individuals (Jeong, 2013). Teachers, who have the authority and responsibility to decide, day-to-day and lesson-to-lesson, how to use educational

resources for their pupils, have their own perspectives on inclusion, which they then apply in the pedagogical decisions that they make (Hart, 2004). The presence of support assistants does not guarantee either inclusion or exclusion because the context of practice is dynamic, the concept of inclusive education does not have a set definition and the quality of practice is determined or greatly influenced by the underpinning values of the stakeholders (Thomas, Walker, & Webb, 1998).

In. S. Korea, despite a steady increase in the number of support assistants in mainstream classes, little research has been undertaken into whether or how that increase has contributed to or hindered inclusion. Before assessing the impact of support assistance on inclusion, fundamental questions arise about who the stakeholders in the mainstream classroom are and who they should be. Ideally, both the Special Class Teacher (who is in charge of teaching SEN pupils in special classes)[2] and the mainstream class teacher should be involved in what goes on in the mainstream class. In the present system, however, the Special Class Teacher holds the official remit for implementing inclusive education for the SEN pupil but is peripheral in practice as she/he does not attend the mainstream classroom, where a mainstream teacher is in charge of every pupil in the class. Formally, decisions for every pupil in the class, including the pupil with SEN have to be made by the mainstream teacher. Those decisions on how to accommodate and respond to needs depend on the teacher's perspective on the basic concepts of learners, learning and teaching as those concepts are indispensable (Lehane, 2016).

(Figure 1-1) Identifying the research issue.



[2] 'Special educator' and 'Special Class Teacher' are sometimes used interchangeably. Special educator, however, refers to someone who works in a team by providing advice and guidance to teaching colleagues while also holding teaching responsibility. Special Class Teachers teach individual pupils or small groups (Emanuelsson, Peder, & Persson, 2005). In the S. Korean context, in general, the latter (small groups) applies.

Collected snapshots of support assistance in practice as a means of implementing inclusive education in S. Korea reveal dilemmas and conflicts between two forms: 1) as applied under political direction as special educational provision for SEN pupils only and 2) (the perspective of the study) as applied more widely in practice because diverse needs need to be responded to in class. *Figure 1-1* above describes the two forms.

1.4. What does this study look for and how?

To identify the potential for inclusive education and barriers to it, this study aims to learn from actual practice rather than analysing policy or viewing practice simply as an application of policy. Through personal experience in support assistance in one Scottish school (in five classes with seven class teachers) and over several years as a Special Class Teacher in S. Korea, I observed the classroom reality that almost everybody, pupils or staff members, could use help of some sort at some time and in some ways. Ideally, I concluded, support should be available to any pupil at any time, so that the seeking and providing of help would be a natural part of learning and school life for all. As regards the use of support assistants, it was apparent in the Scottish school that there were differences in practice between classes operating under the same policy and differences in the use of the support assistance within the same school. (I acknowledge that experience of a single school leaves open the question of how widely that applies.)

In S. Korea, support assistants are deployed solely to support pupils with Statements of Need. The relevant statute lays the concrete foundation for access by SEN pupils to their neighbourhood schools and to support by special (or additional) provisions. However, exactly how those provisions are to be implemented in particular classes is not investigated.

Two associated assumptions were to be questioned in this study: 1) that to teach and to support SEN pupils requires special knowledge, a special teacher and exclusive support by an assistant and 2) that other (non-SEN) pupils do not require such support assistance. If other pupils do need support, who supports them and how? One possible way to examine those issues seemed to be to investigate how class teachers work with support assistants in practice. The class teacher is required to respond to the needs of the diversity of pupils in the classroom but the assistant, if present, is deployed to support

only the pupil with SEN. How are support assistants actually used in mainstream classes where diverse needs may be presented by diverse pupils?

To collect data on the practical use of support assistant provision, this research sought to observe everyday class life and discover how pupils' needs were met by teachers and assistants. How and why the particular practices observed had been adopted was analysed in an attempt to gather teachers' perceptions of learners, learning, teaching and, crucially, of the function of classroom support assistance. Insights were also gleaned from the views, experiences and observed practice of support assistants themselves.

The Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012) was used and its three main components, viz., preparedness, deployment, and practice, provided focus for the phenomena that the research examined. Those components were used as guidelines for class observation and assistant interviews, and for primary organisation of data before analysis. 'Deployment' was central in identifying the support contexts, e.g., who was supported in what situation by whom, i.e., the practical reality of support in the classroom. 'Practice' illustrated the interaction among the stakeholders, pupils, teacher, and assistant. It was useful in identifying the nature and the forms of support provided by the teacher and/or assistant in class.

For the purpose of this study, practice was viewed through the lens of Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, which aims to ensure everybody's learning without marginalising any (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). This enabled a focus on the class teacher's responsibility to ensure all pupils' learning and to work with support assistants and other professionals and paraprofessionals for the development of the whole class community. Examining stakeholders' choices and decisions with regard to support assistance and the impact of those on the class community revealed possibilities and challenges and yielded opportunities to ask teachers for their views on inclusion and on how it ought to be implemented.

CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines how the research interest developed for me personally and as a topic of interest in the academic community, and why it is thought that the research may be significant and useful.

The inquiry into the nature of support assistant provision, including the basic issues of "What is support" and "Who needs support?" arose from my experience of working at a school whose educational ethos and context were quite different from what I had known as a teacher in S. Korea. Notions which had been taken for granted were challenged and new questions raised. The nature of the support and the ideal use of support assistance in the classroom are the practical aspects of the theoretical ground of this research, Inclusive Pedagogy (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), which is explained in chapter 3, "Review of Literature".

The geographical context of the research is S. Korea and the educational context is special education and, in particular, inclusive education. The study also refers, however, to the U.K., where the research interest was conceived. Studies and developments in other countries are mentioned so as to place this research into the flow of international studies of the development of inclusive education but the S. Korean system is the main focus. What has been achieved so far is noted and the investigation proceeds to consider ways forward. The basis of the study was on-the-ground enquiry into how teachers try (or do not try) to apply inclusive principles as they deal with the diverse needs of the pupils in their charge. Inclusive education in S. Korea operates through individual support to SEN pupils attending mainstream classes, in which pupils without formally recognised special needs have no particular support available. Those classes provide the field for this research.

A separate but related issue is the mismatch in the official structure whereby the inclusion of an SEN pupil in a mainstream class and the support provided to enable that pupil to learn there are matters for the decision of the Special Education Teacher of the special class to which the SEN pupil belongs. In the mainstream class, however, support

may be given by the assistant assigned to the SEN pupil, by the class teacher, by a subject teacher or even by other pupils, all without any ongoing involvement by the Special Education Teacher responsible for the provision of inclusive education for that pupil. Because the mainstream class teachers observed were, in fact, in charge of the practical application of inclusive education (in that it always took place in their domains, in which they set the tone and made the rules), their views were considered to be fundamental to the conclusions of this research.

2.2. Conceiving the enquiry: personal professional context

Helping one another as a natural feature of school life as opposed individual help being exceptional.

What makes the difference - the support system or particular individual notions?

In the local education authority primary school in Scotland where I worked as an assistant and a volunteer and where teachers delivered the 'Curriculum for Excellence' (Scottish Government, 2008), assigning different tasks to pupils was a common strategy to embrace all learners as well as to motivate each to make progress at her/his own rate. While some pupils undertook common tasks such as making sentences using new vocabulary, the class teacher was able to lead a reading group or conduct an alternative activity for certain pupils. Pupils could be directed to either individual work or a group activity. In the course of those activities, some pupils might be withdrawn from a common task if, for example, a Learning Support Teacher or support assistant (Pupil Support Assistant: PSA) called them out to do something else. The class teacher and support workers discussed, albeit sometimes briefly, the content and aim of the pupils' learning activities. Individual diversity was respected and responded to in the context of the class. Terms used in the formal policy document covering support and the range of circumstances that might require additional support included 'for whatever reason', 'for long or short term' and 'to be included full in their learning' (Scottish Government, 2013, p. 13). "Needs" were given a broad and inclusive meaning: 'all children and young people need support to help them learn.' (Scottish Government, 2013, p. 20).

As a non-native speaker, I sometimes had difficulty in understanding exactly what I was being asked to do by the class teacher, who nonetheless gave me many opportunities to use my experience. My opinions were respected and were effectively applied in a range

of teaching and learning contexts. Through close communication with pupils whose strengths and weakness were diverse, I came to see that every pupil might need additional support at different times and different periods and that the seeking of support could be a natural part of learning and school life for both pupils and adults. The teacher's learning scenarios were well prepared and delivered and support workers used in an effective way under her thoughtful direction. Support workers included not only support assistants (PSAs) but parent-helpers, student teachers and visiting specialists. The class teacher and I established a routine in which we were both fully engaged in pupils' learning, sometimes in entirely different activities and sometimes in a similar context.

Often, in morning assemblies in that primary school in which I worked, the pupils (around 500) would sing a song entitled 'Special Kind of Hero' about each individual's uniqueness. Most pupils sang with smiles and gestures. In a secondary school (in the same area) where I worked as a volunteer, I could see an example of PSAs being fully integrated members of the school staff. In a pupils' talent contest, a PSA was on the judging panel.

Did that level of inclusive practice, that everybody needs support and support assistance is available for everybody, derive from the system of support provision? In the Scottish primary school mentioned above, I worked in five classes with seven different teachers. To varying degrees, I was involved in pupil's lives and learning. In most of the classes, I was actively immersed in pupils' activities, could communicate freely with pupils and teacher and could use my own initiative whenever a need arose. That was not, however, the case across the board. In one class, I was barely accepted by the teacher and had hardly any conversation with her and the pupils did not actively seek my help. I had to be careful in offering help when, as often, I had not been assigned a task. My assistance was sometimes cut short by the teacher. I was working at one school under the same management team but was used quite differently in different classes. That variation in the attitude of individual teachers was to be mirrored in the school situations observed in S. Korea. What was behind the different attitudes by different teachers?

In general, my experience as a support assistant in the Scottish primary school was that learners' diverse differences were responded to appropriately and that comprehensive and proactive approaches were routinely and naturally implemented in collaboration between staff members on a daily basis. The experience also showed quite dramatically the extent to which individual teachers' preferences determine the atmosphere and dynamics of a class. The experience caused me to question my perspective on teaching, learners, inclusion and support for inclusion.

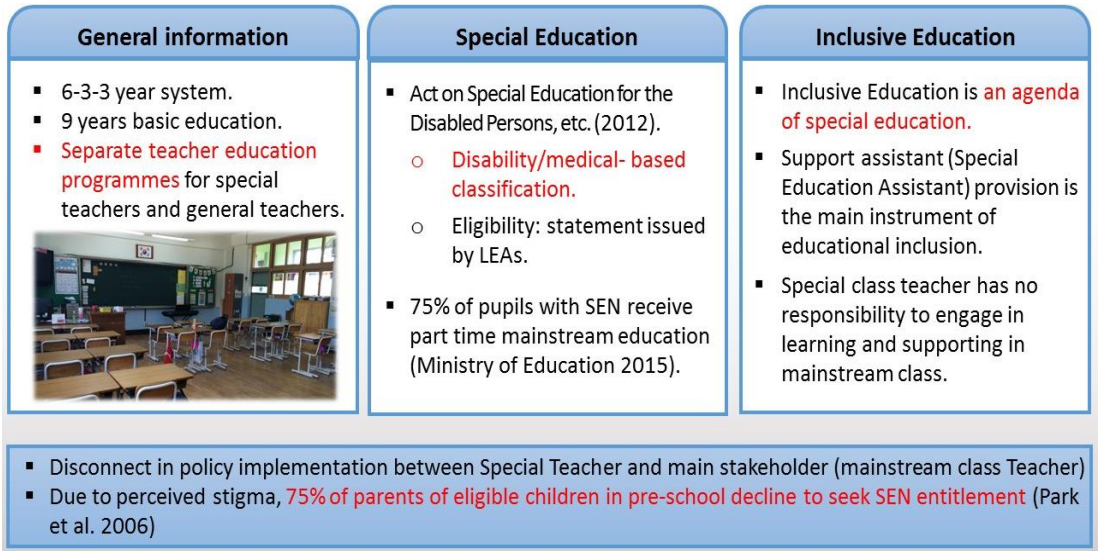
First, I felt a sense of dissatisfaction when I reflected on my experience in S. Korea as a Special Class Teacher. In S. Korea, support for learning under official policy is an extra provision for a particular group of pupils, viz. the SEN pupils, and is generally provided by a support assistant whose role is rigidly distinguished from the role of the teacher. Research regarding support assistance and inclusive education has been conducted in S. Korea but has not examined its actual operation in class in terms of the needs of all of the pupils in the class. The basic assumption of the provision, "exceptional support for a few pupils" has not been challenged in the research but instead has been taken for granted. But is that the way in which support is actually applied and used? Apart from SEN pupils with official entitlement to support, might there not be other pupils in need of help from time to time? Do class teachers recognise the potential usefulness of the resources to help any pupil, not just SEN pupils? In what ways is support assistance intertwined with or separated from a teacher's individual support to pupils in a lesson?

Secondly, even under the support system in the Scottish school, in which diversity is generally respected and support is available for anyone, there are very different forms of practice in classes. Would various forms of practice be found in the S. Korean support assistant system too? Might I find similar instances of resistance to support assistance? What factors determine or influence forms of practice there? Fundamentally, what actually makes practice inclusive or exclusive? Those questions seemed to merit investigation.

2.3. National context

To appreciate the context of the main subject area of the research (the needs of pupils and ways of responding to those needs), some knowledge of the education system and of the local history of the development of special and inclusive education will be helpful. *Figure 2-1* below briefly explains the education system in S. Korea and locates support assistant provision in that context. Worth emphasising is that inclusive education is implemented as an agenda of special education as an expression of a narrow view of inclusive education for disabled pupils. Support assistant provision is an instrument used to effect inclusion for those having SEN entitlement.

(Figure 2-1) S. Korean education system



2.3.1. State education system in S. Korea

Over the fifty years following the end of active hostilities in the Korean War, S. Korea achieved rapid economic growth, accomplished on the basis of attention paid to both the economy and education (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008). The current S. Korean educational system was initially modelled on the U.S system, but culture and socio-political differences have contributed to the development of an idiosyncratic national system (Kang et al., 2015). Although, in the 1950s, S. Korea was a recipient of UNICEF aid, it has been since 1994 a donor nation. Developing the nation's human resources was a central factor in its rapid economic growth. That rapid growth, however, fostered an atmosphere in which conformity and order were celebrated and pupils were under pressure to be successful and to become successful members of society. That 'grade-centred' model paid little attention to certain groups of learner such as slow learners, pupils with SEN and pupils from multicultural backgrounds and low-income families (Ministry of Education, 2014; Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008).

As seen in the educational statistics in *Appendix O*, the S. Korean Ministry of Education provides a basic framework to ensure pupils' educational rights in a system in which over 70% of pupils attend state schools (Korean Educational Statistics Service, 2017). Under the *'Elementary and Secondary Education Act'*, a nine-year basic education is provided to children aged 6 to 14. The academic year runs from March to the end of February

(Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2017). There are two semesters in each year, from March to July and from September to February. The educational 'ladder' consists of six years at elementary school, three years at middle school, three years at high school and two to four years at college or university. That was set down as the basic track in the Education Law of 1951 (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008). Pupils are required to attend school on 220 days in each academic year (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008; Park, 2005).

2.3.2. Special education in S. Korea

History and legal framework: disability-based educational provision

In S. Korea, special education in the form of teaching in Braille for children with visual impairment, was introduced in the late 1880s by Christian missionaries from the West, particularly the U.S., during a period in which S. Korea was westernising and modernising in the process of becoming an industrial society (Kim, 2012b; Park, 2005). Under Japanese colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century, special educational provision remained confined to pupils with sensory impairment.

Although national special schools and private institutions had been established for the blind and the deaf, special education as an administrative department of education was established only in 1977, when the *'Promotion of Special Education Act'* provided a legal foundation for children with disabilities to receive public education and additional services (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008; Yoo & Palley, 2014). Overall policies and laws fostering inclusive education were introduced and it became popular in the 1990s to educate disabled pupils in special classrooms in mainstream schools rather than in separate special schools (Kim, 2014). After several significant revisions of the initial 1977 Act, the 2012, *"Act on Special Education for the Disabled Persons, etc."*(Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012) replaced it as the major legal basis for special and inclusive education in S. Korea.

The 2012 Act, Article 15, defines 'special education-related services'.

> *The term "special education-related services" means services to provide human and material resources necessary for efficiently providing education for persons eligible for special education, including counselling support, family support, therapeutic support, support of assistant, support of assistive technology devices, support of learning aids, school attendance support, information access support, etc. ;*

Eligibility for access to special educational provision, including assessment for Individual Educational Programmes (IEPs), the allocating of a support assistant and the provision of alternative programmes, depends entirely on having a 'Statement' issued by the Local Education Authority (LEA) on the basis of a medical diagnosis of disability or impairment. SEN pupils are entitled to various forms of support by local educational authorities including funding of 18,500 GBP (27,016,000 Korean won) per pupil per year, over three times the figure allocated in 2000 (Ministry of Education, 2015, p.66). That funding is used to facilitate not only the organisation of teaching and learning resources but also the provision of diverse learning experiences to maximise each pupil's potential (Park, 2005). Once the Statement has been issued, the pupil has access to all the special education provisions. However, from a different angle, the LEA Statement which determines the right of access to special educational provision on the basis of medical diagnosis clearly separates out the particular group of pupils who are to be helped to be included.

The conferring of a special identity also influences the educational choices of parents in S. Korea. Park and colleague (2006) found that 75% of parents whose children were eligible for special educational provision in their early years did not want their children to have Statements when they started primary education, mainly because they expected their children thereby to be obviously distinguished from 'normal' pupils. The disability-based classification of learners and the anticipated stigmatising effect was inhibiting parents from seeking help for their children within the state education system. How then could a school or class teacher respond to pupils who need help but do not have a Statement of Need? Such pupils might require individual help, apart from or in addition to the teacher's support, but that is not available for them.

The state system enables disabled pupils, with parental acquiescence, to receive a range of educational provisions, including assistance allowing them to attend mainstream classes, at least part-time. On the other hand, that system leaves it entirely to the class teacher to respond to the needs of any pupil not formally identified by those categories. A parallel system between special and general education and the difference in expertise between special and general teachers also serve to divide pupils.

Regarding pedagogical stance, Lewis and Norwich (2005a, pp.3-4) point out the difference between what they call the 'general different position' and 'unique different position'. The former is illustrated by the contemporary S. Korean model of special education and inclusive education in which a particular group of learners (in a category of disability) share common (general) characteristics and require distinctive pedagogy. The latter considers individual difference as uniqueness and emphasises that particular

pedagogic strategies are not just for specific pupils but are relevant for all pupils regardless of conditions that may be different from those of the majority of the population. The latter offers an insightful perspective on disability and difficulties in the implementation of inclusive education. The formal and categorical approach may be useful for establishing a legal foundation and a system, including human resources, for additional support, but the context of teaching and learning are not fully taken into account. That categorical approach is not the ideal basis for pupils' life in the classroom (Lewis & Norwich, 2005b).

2.3.3. Inclusive education in S. Korea

2.3.3.1. Integration: the form of developing inclusive education

In S. Korea, as in other countries, inclusion and the development of policy to bring about inclusion have of late been major educational considerations (Ministry of Education, 2015a). “Integration” and “inclusive education” are used interchangeably throughout national publications and in legal terminologies (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2015; Ministry of Education, 2015a). The legal definition of “inclusive education” uses the term “integrated education”. The definition itself ensures physical location in a mainstream school but leaves educational needs to be met by “special education”.

> *The term “integrated education” means education provided persons eligible for special education in a regular school with other persons of the same age which is suitable for the educational needs of each individual without any discrimination according to the type and level of disability.*
>
> 2012 ‘Act on Special Education for the Disabled Persons, etc.’ Article 2 (Definition) 6. (2002)

The term “integration” and the prescription of educational provision under a remedial approach through the supplying of additional resources to ease the effect of running special classes in mainstream schools was initiated in S. Korea to alleviate difficulties in learning and to support the inclusion of pupils with SEN. Provision for integration is defined as adjustment of the curriculum, support by assistants and by learning assistance devices, etc. (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2014). ‘Therapeutic support’ and ‘support by assistants’ are the most widely provided special educational services (Park et al., 2014). Rather than considering the nature of pupils’ needs and related circumstances that would require a broad spectrum of provisions covering all the contexts that diverse and individual

pupils might present, there is uniform treatment by modification of external conditions such as the curriculum and by the provision of assistance to certain pupils.

As a route for pursuing inclusive education, special education has been implemented through instigating IEPs and time-schedules for support assistance. A national document includes “inclusive education” as merely one of several chapters of the National Special Education Plan (Ministry of Education, 2014). Although mainstream class teachers have been encouraged to take in-service courses pertaining to special and inclusive education to help them embrace diverse learners in their classrooms (Ministry of Education, 2016) and although there was an expectation that those courses would foster an open-minded view of every pupil’s potential to learn, the qualification still implies that inclusive education in S. Korea falls into the frame of special education. Naturally, then, the operation of related services for SEN pupils is formally within the remit of the Special Class Teacher.

A Special Class Teacher’s work in a mainstream school is mostly in a special class (a class for SEN pupils) as special-class-based provision is the main form of inclusive education in S. Korea. According to a S. Korean nationwide survey on Special Education in 2017(Ministry of Education, 2017), while mainstream schools accommodated over 70% of pupils with SEN statements, over two-thirds of those pupils were taught in special classes either full-time or part-time. The most common pattern of education for SEN pupils is special classes for knowledge-based subjects such as language and maths and joining mainstream classes for other subjects (Choi, 2009). Only 17.5% of pupils with statements were in inclusive settings full-time (Ministry of Education, 2016). The operation of special classes is regulated with respect to the use of appropriate facilities, equipment, textbooks and teaching equipment (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2014). A national research paper about inclusive education in S. Korea viewed a special class in a mainstream school as functioning like a small special school (Kang, Kwon, Kim, & Kim, 2000). However, that separate functioning was not identified as a problem.

That approach (separate operation) has been criticised in the U.S.A. (Giangreco, 2013), which influenced the initial development of special education policy in S. Korea before a U.N. standard was adopted. (Yoo & Palley, 2014). Giangreco (2013) criticises the type of inclusive education which reflects the traditional remedial approach pervasive in the early ‘self-contained’ delivery model of special education in which ‘education for the disabled’ in mainstream schools was a special service. Placing pupils with SEN statements in places of physical inclusion but providing teaching and support in an exclusive way does not improve the quality of their learning. A look at the structure of S. Korean education shows that a legally defined special-education-based provision is still the dominant form of inclusive education there. Official policy regarding inclusive and special education in S.

Korea inhibits inclusion: a “special child” is given access to a “special provision”. According to (Slee, 2011), inclusive education has failed wherever ‘inclusive’ education is used as a euphemism for ‘special’ education.

2.3.3.2. Challenging the rationale for inclusive education

To implement inclusive education at class level, SEN pupils have individualised educational plans (IEPs). In a mainstream school, both the Special Class Teacher and the mainstream class teacher are responsible for compiling and implementing each pupil’s plan (Park et al., 2012). However, a national survey (ibid) found that that the IEP, the official instrument of partnership between the two teachers, was not working in practice as it ought to. In the middle school sector (ages 12-14), four-fifths of IEPs were being compiled by the Special Class Teacher and over 90% of the plans did not include any learning goals for mainstream class subjects (Park et al., 2012). Parents were more involved than mainstream class teachers in the assessment of current learning status. More importantly, IEPs were not being used for pupils’ meaningful learning and participation. Although SEN pupils might sit in mainstream classes, most of their learning took place not there but separately with their Special Class Teacher. How then could SEN pupils expect to be accepted as full members of a mainstream class by the teacher and pupils?

Mainstream class teachers and pupils in general perceive a clear division between learners. Non-SEN pupils in mainstream classes consider pupils with SEN entitlement as being in need of help (Ko, 2009). They do not consider them to be the same as themselves. Difference in expertise between the two main groups of professionals may lead to the different views on how to enact inclusive education but most in each group see additional (special educational) knowledge as essential. Mainstream class teachers believe that, for the better practice of inclusive education, they would need more knowledge about the nature of the disabilities of the particular SEN pupils in their classes and about behavioural intervention and therapeutic skills (Kim, 2014; Ko, 2009). Special Class Teachers, on the other hand, think that learning about teaching the subject that the SEN pupil is studying in the mainstream class would be essential (Ministry of Education, 2016). In other words, to implement inclusive education, the things that are regarded as more significant than how to support learning and participation in class are knowledge about the nature of individual disability, about strategies for the management of certain pupils and about the content of subjects taught. That view is generally accepted and has not been challenged.

Another issue is the “hidden population” of official non-SEN pupils who need more individual help than others. Class teachers have to accommodate pupils who, although they do not have Statements of Need, present a range of educational challenges, e.g., learning difficulties or emotional difficulties not involving apparent disability. In the middle school sector (ages12-14), over 65% of schools have pupils who do not have statements but do require additional support (Park et al., 2012). As mentioned above, diagnosis of SEN and the obtaining of a Statement are often avoided by parents due to their anticipation that their child will be stigmatised (Park et al., 2006). Special Class Teachers have neither responsibility for those unrecognised pupils nor any opportunity to work with them. Mainstream class teachers have no access to additional provision for them.

There are major constraints to inclusion in the system and across schools in S. Korea. While the majority of class teachers go along with a limited concept of inclusion in terms of embracing disabled pupils in the mainstream classroom (Kang et al., 2000; M. Park, 2010), they face practical challenges and dilemmas that incline them not to take responsibility for the education of those pupils (Kim, 2014). That is fundamentally because the policy of inclusion still treats disabled pupils as ‘surplus’ (Slee, 2011, 2013) to the class community rather than as members entitled to full respect for their diversity and potential. The social and cultural environment acts counter to teachers’ efforts to be inclusive in practice.

The system of inclusion is also criticised by researchers who see inclusive education as a challenge of structure and perspective. Giangreco (2010) points out that the co-ordination of general and special education to support students with SEN in mainstream schools is problematic because, as a reactive system focused on remediation, it does not embrace the full diversity of learners. Similarly, Liasidou and Antoniou (2013) criticise the perspective of reductionist forms of inclusion whereby an individual learner’s condition is considered to be a problem. Their criticism may apply directly to the contemporary S. Korean structure of inclusive education, which, according to research, seems to be generally accepted by teachers. Giangreco (2010) urges the recognition of equity in educational opportunity and appropriate support for all pupils. This study questions the appropriateness of those viewpoints and of current S. Korean policy and practice, with particular regard to the underlying views about needs and the best way of providing support to meet them.

2.3.4. Support assistant provision in S. Korea

2.3.4.1. Initiatives and implementation: special provision for some pupils

In S. Korea, advocacy for parents of pupils with disabilities and statements and the perceived advantage of releasing of teachers from non-pedagogical roles at special schools combined to form the initial rationale for the appointment of support assistants. A drive to expand opportunities for pupils with severe or multiple disabilities to learn in mainstream schools then led to an increase in that workforce (Jeong, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2014; M. Park, 2010).

Four sectors supply support assistants to schools (Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 170): 1) the Ministry of Education (73%), 2) the Ministry of National Defence (which allows such service as an alternative to compulsory military service for men, 20%), 3) local self-governing bodies (6%) and 4) volunteers etc.. The official title of a support assistant is Special Education Assistant (SEA), which some provinces sought to change to Special Education Professional (Ministry of Education, 2014). The formal title Special Education Assistant (SEA) refers only to those who are employed by the Ministry of Education. The programme is a national undertaking which has been continuously implemented since 2003, when a pilot project was initiated. The minimum vocational qualification required is graduation from high school (equivalent to secondary school in the U.K.). In legal terms, support assistant provision is one of the special education services and support assistants are employed by Head Teachers (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2016). However, the roles of the assistants are similar regardless of employment sector and national surveys and reports include all such assistants but do not make stipulation for assistants employed by parents. The post of support assistant was officially created in 2004 by two government bodies, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health and Welfare. The posts, once reserved for the poor, have since been opened to all. In consequence, competition for those jobs has become harder and qualifications and conditions of work have risen (Jeong, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2014; M. Park, 2010). With the increase in the number employed, their voice has become more powerful (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Since 2004, when the provision was officially put in place, pupils with formally recognised special educational needs have been supported by support assistants. Support is given in both special and mainstream classes and the stipulated areas of support are shown in the table below.

(Table 2.1) Official responsibilities of support assistant in S. Korea

Type of need	Example
Individual personal needs	Toileting, feeding and ensuring safety and protection.
Learning needs	Preparing textbooks and other resources, helping in activities throughout the school and assisting in the teacher's preparation for the class.
Other needs	Managing behavioural issues, helping with peer socialising and at after-school clubs and escorting on field trips.

(Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2016)

A drive to expand opportunities for pupils with severe or multiple disabilities to learn in mainstream schools also led to an increase in the number of assistants (Choi & Lee, 2009; Jeong, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2014; M. Park, 2010). In 2003, there were 295 but a steady increase over 13 years saw a total deployment in 2015 of 11,481 (Ministry of Education, 2016). The deployment of support assistants to allow SEN pupils to sit in mainstream classes constitutes “inclusive practice” in the S. Korean education system.

However, a precondition to the attendance of an assistant in a mainstream class is the class teacher's agreement (Lee, 2008). In other words, the attendance and activity of any assistant may be restricted or rejected by any class teacher. The timetable of support assistance is discussed between the mainstream class teacher and Special Class Teacher but the question of what support would be appropriate for which subject is not up for joint decision (Ko, 2009). Moreover, the official implementer of the provision, the Special Class Teacher, is not involved in the mainstream class where learning and support take place. Rather than an assessment of the individual pupil's needs, with support planned accordingly, the form of support, and whether there is any support at all, are determined first by the “Statement”, which itself depends on a parental assent which may be withheld, and then by the mainstream class teacher's personal preference.

The underlying assumptions are that special educational needs involve disability and that disability requires extra provision from the special education sector. Support is still confined to certain pupils in recognition of their perceived needs as compensation for the limitations of their capacity to learn. What then is the class teacher to do for the SEN pupil in the classroom and how are the other pupils’ needs to be met? As regards the agenda of “including all”, there remains open the question of whether class teachers themselves should instigate inclusive practice in proactive ways to respond to any educational needs or whether, alternatively, special educational provisions should be implemented by other stakeholders such as Special Class Teachers or support assistants. The outcomes of

previous research below reflect the teacher's view of SEN pupils and their learning and of the place and value of support assistants.

2.3.4.2. The view of pupils and assistants in the research

There are tensions between support assistants, Special Class Teachers and mainstream class teachers regarding hierarchical status, responsibilities and where the assistant belongs.

Ongoing improvement in the support assistants' pay scale, without corresponding professional development, has given rise to widespread discontent among qualified teachers, the Union of Special Educators in particular. The decreasing differential in pay scales and a lack of clarity in roles between assistants and Special Class Teachers have created tension and hindered collaboration (Jeong, 2013). Although Special Class Teachers, to maximise support assistance in mainstream classes, tend to allow autonomy to assistants supporting pupils in mainstream classrooms (Jeong, 2013; I. Park, 2010; M. Park, 2010), there is the non-negotiable understanding that the autonomy is exercised only by permission, not by right. The hierarchical division between support assistant and Special Class Teacher remains rigid (Jeong, 2013; Lee, 2008). Regarding their roles and qualifications, research has shown that assistants are required to undertake pre-service and in-service training on inclusion (Park et al., 2012). Training topics include disability (concepts and categories), behavioural intervention and therapeutic knowledge (Choi, 2009). In the view of mainstream teachers, although assistants work in mainstream classrooms, their expertise and their place is in special education.

In the early period of support assistance, it was common for mainstream teachers to be reluctant to accommodate assistants in their classrooms and, as late as 2009, some still considered it an imposition that their teaching was exposed to outsiders (Choi, 2009; Choi & Lee, 2009). At the same time, according to Choi (2009), over 84% of class teachers consider assistant provision to be necessary and find it useful. Behavioural interventions and the meeting of personal needs were regarded as particularly significant contributions (Choi, 2009; Kim, 2012a). Although the majority of mainstream teachers (64.7%) still thought that assistants ought to be managed in the special education sector (Choi, 2009), they had begun to get involved in matters relating to the work of assistants due to the fact that the assistants were working in their classes. The boundary of responsibility (for SEN pupils) between mainstream teacher and assistant then became a controversial issue (Choi, 2005). According to Bae (2011), support assistants' roles in classes were assigned

by mainstream teachers but there was little communication between them and regular meetings were uncommon (Choi, 2009; Park et al., 2012). Then, how do class teachers view the pupil with SEN and the assistant?

From studies, it has emerged that the perceived object of inclusive education is still “dealing with pupils with SEN”, in which the Special Class Teacher and the support assistant are considered to be the main stakeholders. In other words, mainstream teachers still consider a pupil with a Statement to belong to a group outwith the class community, a special class where special educational provision is provided (Jeong, 2013). Pupils with SEN have often been considered to be an extra population, a group outside the school community, who might benefit from a positive attitude from “normal” pupils and mainstream teachers (Choi, 2009; Kim, 2012a; Kim, 2014; Ko, 2009). That view is seen as “attitude” research with which (Slee, 2011) finds fault, as pupils are not treated equally, one being the object of research while others are subjects. Therefore, unsurprisingly, in the context of support assistance, the SEN pupil has sometimes been described in research as in need of help, i.e., as a passive being rather than as an active learner and an equal member of the community. For example, some teachers see assistance as beneficial in that it gave them time to teach other pupils while the assistant was with the SEN pupil (Choi, 2009; Ko, 2009). They are also relieved of the burden of teaching that SEN pupil (ibid). In that research, pupils’ attitudes tended to reflect their teachers’ attitudes. Mainstream class pupils thought that they could concentrate on their own work because, thanks to the assistant, they did not have to give attention to the SEN pupil. In that view, the SEN pupil is not an equal member of the class community. Several studies have emphasised to teachers the importance of a precise understanding of the purpose and the mode of implementation of official policy (Jeong, 2013; Yoon & Woo, 2007). Problems and issues around support assistance have been attributed to a lack of understanding of that policy.

What emerged in those studies was consistent with a policy under which inclusive education was implemented through special education in mainstream classes. In those studies, the political direction was supported rather than challenged.

SEN pupils' learning and participation was not promoted in some cases by the form of support given because an assistant's role was sometimes confined to keeping a pupil quiet to enable the class to run smoothly (Choi, 2009). Even though the class teacher’s lack of attention to the SEN pupil, because of the presence of support assistant, was seen as a negative aspect (Ko, 2009) there was little concern for the SEN pupil’s own learning and participation. According to Singal (2014), where there is a dilemma of engagement in the pursuit of inclusive education, it is generally rather the case that

learners emerge as ‘resilient survivors of the education system’ than that ‘the system fosters their success’.

On the other hand, M. Park (2010) draws attention to the academic issue in opining that, for inclusive education to be successful in increasing the academic engagement of disabled pupils, there had to be ‘team-based support’ with collaboration between professionals. She criticises that social inclusion has long been an issue in inclusive education in S. Korea. The research has given attention to the quality of engagement of included SEN pupils and has asserted the responsibility of all three professional stakeholders, the Special Class Teacher, the support assistant and the mainstream class teacher. However, the view implied in that research, has still followed the S. Korean official direction on inclusive education, i.e. allowing pupils with SEN to be educated in mainstream classes by providing extra resources for them, so differentiating them from other pupils. The level of engagement of the SEN pupil consisted merely in being included in a class. The narrow perspective on inclusive education was not challenged. Even though the research outcomes show an increase in engagement by those SEN pupils, questions remained over whether there was meaningful engagement and participation in learning in the class community. The study produced little evidence of how lessons were planned and implemented in the context of class community.

Other research points out the peculiar standing of the SEN pupil in the class community. There is a problem of over-dependence arising from continuous intensive assistance, which also inhibits the forming of peer relationships (Ko, 2009). The effect of loss of teacher attention has been raised in other research (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2013; Webster, Blatchford, & Russell, 2013; Williams & O’Connor, 2012) in other educational contexts. The same issue is a problem in quite different contexts.

The combined effect of a legal framework based on medical diagnosis, a limited view of inclusive education and a rigid registration system for eligibility for “exclusive support” by support assistants continues to unduly limit the role of the assistants and the range of pupils supported. Support by an assistant is the official provision for educational inclusion, and the definition of “inclusion” is still deficient. This study tries to look at practice with a different focus, a focus on learning, learners and support in the context of the whole class to discern how support assistance is intertwined with or separate from a teacher’s own response to the needs of the pupils in the class.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW of LITERATURE

3.1. Introduction

Support assistant provision has been implemented in a range of countries with various rationales. Commonly, it has contributed to improving participation and engagement in learning but the precise scope of the roles and responsibilities of assistants and the criteria of eligibility for assistance have varied according to the background to the policy, the purpose of the provision (Chambers, 2015; Warhurst et al., 2014) and, more narrowly, the perspective and stance of stakeholders involved (Jeong, 2013; Thomas et al., 1998).

Along with diversity, behind support assistant provision in many countries lies the agenda of implementation of educational inclusion. However, the actual use of support may differ from country to country according to concepts and views on inclusive education. Where support assistance is used as compensation for individual deficiency, practice may be exclusive in effect and may stigmatise supported pupils. The need for support gives those pupils a specific identity. On the other hand, where inclusive education is aimed at promoting the learning and participation of all pupils in a class community, support assistance would operate differently. The form of support assistance inevitably reflects the direction of inclusive education in any particular jurisdiction (Chambers, 2015).

In S. Korea, inclusive education is still broadly understood as integration through meshing special education provision with the general education system. In S. Korea, as seen in Chapter 2 (2.3. National context), the divisions between pupils according to Statement of Needs, and between professionals according to whether expertise is in general or special education, has been taken for granted in previous research. In India, Singal (2014) urges the importance of openly questioning the relationship between ‘the current political and moral association with inclusive education’ to deal with issues in the mainstream education system. Likewise, in S. Korea, inclusive education ought to face questions such as: “Which educational needs are special?”, “Who has needs?” and “Who is responsible for meeting needs in a mainstream class in which inclusive education is actually implemented?”

It is worth viewing the S. Korean model of support assistance in a global context, as similar provision has been implemented in many countries and inclusive education has been developed on principles agreed internationally. The implementation of provision in different educational contexts has given rise to a wide range of research whose results have had influence across national boundaries. With regard to this present study in S. Korea, influential comparators are the U.S., whose education system hugely influenced development in S. Korea, and the U.K., where the theoretical ground (the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach: Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) of this study was developed and where this research was conceived. There are diverse forms of support assistance in other countries, and the brief international review, noting legal terms and rationales for different provisions, may help to identify issues in the development of inclusive education.

At the same time, at a lower (or at least narrower and more practical) level, although any national policy of inclusive education may cover support assistance and may give a common direction to teachers, individual classrooms may display differences in the application of that same policy. As Lehane (2016) argues, the concept of support is indispensable in teaching and learning and the class context built by the class members is complex. So the actual implementation of support assistance will vary depending on the perspective of the individual teacher.

In Chapter 3, I look at both the macro and micro dimensions.

First, I look at the phenomena examined in the study; how support assistance works in practice. Based on the importance of understanding national policy and regulations and their implications, I have reviewed widely the implementation of support assistant provision as a practical expression of educational inclusion. Challenges and issues are discussed, with emphasis given to the perspectives of the main stakeholders at class level.

Secondly, the theoretical ground, the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), which gives its particular perspective to this study, is examined. In relation to teachers' views and practice, three principles of the approach are applied, 'dealing with difference', 'teachers' self-belief' and 'working with others'. The theoretical ground is the lens through which the subject is viewed. All three principles yielded significant contributions from the teachers involved but the third, the spectrum of inclusive practice evidenced in "working with others" showed more complexity and breadth in practice. From applying the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, what emerged were the diverse, sometimes contrasting, practices of teachers who were highly committed to inclusive education.

Lastly, the research questions are discussed.

3.2. The phenomena studied: support assistance in practice

In many countries, the general tendency of initiatives concerning support assistance has been to develop them under agendas of integration and inclusion and/or relieving teachers' workloads, particularly of non-pedagogical tasks, so that they might focus on teaching (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). This is discussed further under *3.2.1. Initiatives and changes*. To get a wider view of the variety and complexity of the provisions, particularly regarding the role of the support assistant and the range of pupils supported, various national legal bases are compared under *3.2.2. Educational needs and support in governing legislation*. That locates this study in the international flow of research in this area.

Before looking at the challenges identified by a range of research studies, the complexity of the nature of support assistant provision is reviewed under *3.2.3. Implementation of support assistant provision*. That usually relates to teaching and learning and so, because of the overlap with teachers' work, assistants' roles and responsibilities are not always clear (Thomas et al., 1998; Wallace, 2009). Moreover, because of the diversity of purposes that various policies pursue and the perspectives of different stakeholders, effectiveness will vary.

3.2.4. Challenges arising from the development of support assistance are discussed. The complexity of the concepts and diversity in perspectives have given rise to a range of issues regarding the quality of teaching and support, particularly on the equality and equity agendas. Support assistance has also led to conflict and tension between professionals. Lastly, as regards the effectiveness of support for learning and participation, the importance of the views and attitudes of mainstream teachers, which affect the function of support assistance in class, is dealt with under *3.2.5. Support assistants and their function in the class*.

3.2.1. Initiatives and changes

Over recent years, in many countries, in schools as in other areas such as law and medicine, assistants have been deployed to relieve professionals of non-pedagogical tasks and there has been a demographic change whereby paraprofessionals with their own expertise have increasingly taken over much of what formerly were professional workloads (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012).

It has become popular too, internationally, as integration and inclusion have been widely adopted with the recognition that pupils' educational needs have become more diverse, to have support staff working in classes and to increase the time spent by them in direct interaction with pupils (Blatchford, Russell, Bassett, Brown, & Martin, 2004; Cremin, Thomas, & Vincett, 2005). For example, in Scotland, from the late 1990s, the role of the support assistant evolved from care and clerical activities to greater direct involvement in pupils' learning (Schlapp, Wilson, & Davidson, 2003; Warhurst et al., 2014). In England and Wales, they were also initially introduced into schools in response to a crisis in teacher recruitment and concerns over teachers' workload but, in 1994, a Code of Practice expanded their functions by employing support staff (TAs: Teaching Assistants) to help pupils who had Individual Educational Plans (IEPs) (Blatchford, Russell, Bassett, Brown, & Martin, 2004; Blatchford et al., 2012). In the U.S.A., similarly, a shortage of teachers was the initial reason for the recruitment of support assistants (Teacher Assistants) (ibid). However, it is now common, in line with the development of special and inclusive educational provision, for pupils with disabilities to be supported by an assistant in the mainstream school as well as in special schools (Giangreco et al., 2010).

Along with the significant increase in the number of support assistants in schools and the adoption of a common aim, viz. improvement in pupils' learning and participation, assistants' roles have become more diverse and the time allocated to their pedagogical and instructional roles with pupils has increased. (Chambers, 2015; Webster et al., 2011). There has been a corresponding increase in research into their effective use in learning and inclusion. For example, as the concept of inclusive education has evolved and changed, there has been controversy about the justification for using assistants exclusively to support pupils with SEN and about associated SEN issues, including the quality of support that SEN pupils receive (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2013), equality of time for teacher attention (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2013; Ko, 2009; Webster et al., 2013; Williams & O'Connor, 2012) and the issue of stigmatising (Blatchford et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2010).

Despite a broadly common aim, the concept of inclusive education differs from country to country according to educational context and support assistance consequently functions differently. Roles and responsibilities vary between countries and even between local bodies governing education (LEAs) (Giangreco & Doyle, 2014). There have been growing issues about the deployment of the assistant workforce and the political motivation behind it (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). Differences between legal frameworks and definitions of terms related to support assistance explain some of the substantive differences and controversial issues. Legal backgrounds and underlying

beliefs and policy give purpose to the provision of assistants and show an expectation of particular outcomes, something of which may be revealed in the specific titles of the posts. To investigate the background of contemporary practice in S. Korea, the assumptions and views implicit in the legally established structure are examined.

3.2.2. Educational “needs and support” in governing legislation

The introduction and expansion of support assistance has developed, at least in part, out of the rationale for the inclusion agenda. One of the basic purposes, therefore, can be traced to inclusion policy and the legal basis for that policy. Depending on various factors, including the particular national education policy, the positions of related stakeholders and conditions of service, support assistants in schools in various countries have various titles (Chambers, 2015) such as Teaching Assistant, Teacher Assistant, Paraprofessional, Teacher Aide, Allied Educator, Pupil Support Assistant and Special Education Assistant. A common feature of the role is support for pupils under a teacher's supervision. There is complexity, however, in those concepts because, despite a similar intention (educational inclusion), particular educational contexts and particular decisions about needs and support mean that each education system has its own policy and operational structure with its own subjects, aims and expected outcomes.

As Fulcher (1989) and Slee (2011) refer to the power of language, each title carries a slightly, and sometimes significantly, different meaning and connotations for the role, the range of pupils supported, the status of the post-holder and the conditions of employment. Evidence of that may be found in the related terms “need” and “support” which vary in meaning according to the underlying policy. The particular national policy itself will tend to indicate how inclusive education and its implementation are to be understood. Different titles indicate the different intentions behind the provision of support assistant. “Special needs” likewise means just what the legislation in each jurisdiction states that it means. The term as defined then connotes the scope and nature of the provision to meet those needs.

For example, some countries define the range of pupils to be supported while others do not. In the U.S.A. and S. Korea, the work of the support assistant is limited to support for certain pupils. That constraint does not apply rigidly in the U.K. The definitions of “needs” also relates to other differences in terminology related to special and inclusive education, e.g., ‘Additional Support Needs’ (ASN), in the Scottish system is significantly different from ‘Special Educational Needs’ (SEN), in most other countries. ‘ASN’ is based

on the notion that ‘all children need support to learn, but some have additional support needs' (Hamil & Clark, 2005). ‘Special' carries a different implication.

‘Support staff’ is a general term encompassing all kinds of academic and non-academic assistants (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). In this research, for consistency and uniformity, “support assistant” and “assistant” are used throughout to refer to the assistant attending a classroom to help pupils or pupils and teacher under the supervision of the teacher. In some cases, within the same national system, different terms are used to indicate different support roles, e.g., ‘Learning Support Assistant’ ‘Teaching Assistant’ and ‘Higher Level Teaching Assistant’ in England and Wales.

3.2.2.1. ‘Needs’ and ‘Support’: Statement of Disability and Special Educational Needs

The legal definition of “special need” indirectly implies subsequent appropriate provision to meet those needs. S. Korea (like the U.S.A.) use the term “Special Educational Needs (SEN)” and “disability” as variables in deciding eligibility for support. Based on a remedial approach, the condition of disability defines the special need(s).

In S. Korea, SEN translates the term used when referring to pupils, usually with disabilities, who become “pupils with Statements” and are thereby eligible for special provision. Disability is the prerequisite for special educational provision. There are legal definitions.

> *‘Persons who are diagnosed and determined to need special education among those who fall under any of following subparagraphs (the eleven categories) shall be selected as persons eligible for special education by the Head of each District Office of Education or the Superintendent of each Office of Education’*
>
> ‘Act on Special Education for The Disabled Person, etc.’, Article 15, (2012, p. 7)

In the definition above, ‘person eligible for special education’ refers to person with any of the listed categories of disabilities. Article 15 lists them as.

> *Visual impairments, hearing impairments, mental retardation, physical impairments, emotional disturbance or behavioural disorder, autism (including the relevant disabilities), speech impairments, learning disabilities, health impairments, developmental delays and other disabilities prescribed by Presidential Decree.*
>
> ‘Act on Special Education for The Disabled Person, etc.’, Article 15, (2012, p. 7)

‘Special Education Assistant’ (SEA) is used in S. Korea for an assistant who supports pupils with SEN. According to the ‘Act on Special Education for The Disabled Person, etc., Article 28 (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012), the SEA service is defined as being one of the special-education-related services, along with therapeutic support, teaching equipment, school transport etc. The pervasive perspective, however, based on the remedial approach, is still that they are “resources” to compensate for an impairment or difficulty rather than supporters of learning in general.

Similarly, in the U.S.A., the educational notion underlying the title of the assistant is that support concerns pupils with disabilities. ‘Paraprofessional' is a generic term in education. In U.S. federal legislation, it is the formal title of the teacher’s assistant in special education (Giangreco & Doyle, 2014). ‘Teacher Assistant’ is also widely used among academics (Giangreco & Doyle, 2014; Giangreco, 2010).

> *‘Paraprofessionals and assistants who are appropriately trained and supervised, in accordance with State law, regulation, or written policy, may assist in the provision of special education and related services to children with disabilities under Part B of the Act’*
>
> ‘Individuals with Disabilities Education Act’ (IDEA 1997; 2004 in (Wallace, 2003, p. 9).

Singapore displays a similar, but unique, context of support assistance. There it is focused on pupils with special educational needs but, as mainstream schools there do not have special education teachers, unlike other nations including S. Korea and the U.K., assistants (Allied Educators) train for one year and qualify with a Diploma in Special Needs Education (Lim et al., 2014). The role and responsibilities match those of a special education teacher but the recognised status is as an assistant (paraprofessional) (ibid).

(Table 3.1) Titles of support assistants in systems with limited eligibility of support

Title	Nation	Definition of role (*reference*)
Special Education Assistant (SEA)	S. Korea	Special-education-related assistant for pupils with Statements of Special Need (*Act on Special Education for The Disabled Person, etc., Article 28, 2012*).
Paraprofessional / Teacher Assistant	U.S.A.	Assistant in the provision of special education and related services for children with disabilities *(IDEA 1997 cited in Wallace, 2003).*

Allied Educator (AED). Learning and Behavioural Support (LBS)	Singapore	Person who complements the work of classroom teachers in supporting pupils with SEN. Usually works with individuals or small groups for remedial lessons, skills training and academic subjects *(Lim, Wong & Tan 2014).*

In the S. Korean academic and legal contexts, and in the U.S.A., "student with disabilities" is a term widely used and generally synonymous with "student with special educational needs" (Giangreco, 2013; Giangreco & Doyle, 2014; Giangreco, 2010; Jeong, 2013; Kim, 2012a; M. Park, 2010; Yoon & Woo, 2007) ."Special educational needs" means disabilities that require special provision.

3.2.2.2. Views on 'needs' and 'support': the flexible approach

Other nations show a different approach in their definitions of special needs and of the roles of support assistants.

England uses the term 'Special Educational Needs and Disability' (SEND). Difficulty or disability are determined to be the conditions for special provision as below.

> *'A child or young person has SEN if they have a learning difficulty or disability which calls for special educational provision to be made for him or her.'*
>
> 'Special educational needs and disability code of practice: 0 to 25 years', 2015: Department of Education, Department of Health.

Here, however, 'needs' is allowed a more flexible interpretation. In the SEND Code of Practice (DfE & DoH, 2015), Articles 6.27 to 6.35 mention broad areas of need including communication and interaction, cognition and learning, social, emotional and mental health difficulties and sensory and/or physical needs. As can be seen, the definition of SEN in England and Wales may relate to conditions of disability but does not use specific categories of disability. That flexible approach to needs is reflected in the role and responsibilities of assistants. The system of support assistance in England and Wales has been elaborated over time and the number of assistants has greatly increased (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). Teaching Assistants (TAs), Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTAs) and Learning Support Assistants (LSAs) work with class teachers to support pupils in class in various circumstances. Teaching Assistants account for about a quarter of the school workforce in England and about a third in Wales (Webster et al., 2011).

TA (Teaching Assistant) is the term widely used in England and Wales. The Code of Practice uses the term 'supporting staff' or 'teaching assistant'. Teaching Assistant (TA) and Learning Support Assistant (LSA) are often used interchangeably with or without the difference in roles. Wallace (2009) defines them as below.

'Teaching assistant (TA), sometimes, and increasingly, referred to as a learning support assistant or LSA, this is an adult employed to assist a qualified teacher in the classroom. They may have a general role in the classroom or may be assigned to assist a particular student who needs additional support in literacy, numeracy, or the acquisition of English as a second language; or has a statement of special needs. The responsibilities of a teaching assistant can vary greatly and depend to a large extent on whether they are working in primary or secondary education. Typical activities might include preparing resources for lessons, putting up displays, administrative tasks such as photocopying or marking, and working with individual children or small groups. The qualifications and experience required are decided at a local level, by the school or local authority. Where specific requirements or qualifications are required, training towards these may often be provided on the job.'

Teaching assistant: A Dictionary of Education (Wallace, 2009)

TAs and LSAs, however, do sometimes cover slightly different areas. Although LSAs may be used more narrowly for supporting pupils with SEND, as stated in the 2015 Code of Practice (DfE & DoH, 2015), TAs give comprehensive support to teachers and pupils. They may be directly and indirectly involved in helping all pupils to learn, there being no specific restriction on eligibility for TA support. For example, TA work may include assisting with the planning, delivery and evaluation of learning activities, while a LSA works for pupils with SEND in a mainstream or special needs school (National Career Service, 2018). The LSA's work includes adapting support according to needs and looking after children's physical, social and emotional welfare (ibid). The 'Prospero teaching'[3] website of 20 April 2015 gives the following brief description:

"Currently, Teaching Assistants tend to provide teaching support to a whole class, smaller groups and sometimes one-on-one. However, when a Learning Support Assistant is requested, it is to work in an intervention role, one-on-one with a student with SEND. This support is often away from the classroom, providing any extra help and guidance in completing tasks and/or working towards targets set in Individual Education Programmes (IEPs)."

(Prospero Teaching, 2015)

[3] Prospero Teaching is an REC Audited Education agency with offices across the UK, dedicated teams of candidate managers, compliance, in-house teacher resources and financial administration. http://www.prosperoteaching.com/

Support assistants in England and Wales, TAs, can work at quite a high level. Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTA) consistently cover even a more extensive and higher level of work.

'HLTA is one who works in a classroom support role but with a high degree of autonomy and responsibility. HLTAs work under the direction of a qualified teacher to support individual children and small groups of pupils; and they are also expected to assist in planning lessons and monitoring the progress of pupils. Some will line-manage or be responsible for supervising, others will support staff. HLTAs are qualified to deliver individual, group, and whole-class learning activities without the presence of a qualified teacher. HLTA status is achieved when the person has successfully demonstrated they have met professional standards set by the Training and Development Agency for Schools in professional values and practice, knowledge and understanding, and teaching and learning activities.'

Higher-level teaching assistant (HLTA): A Dictionary of Education (Wallace, 2009)

The work of a HLTA under the supervision of a qualified teacher is similar to that of a TA but a HLTA may lead activities or lessons without the presence of a teacher. A LEA may regulate the specific role of the HLTA, as shown in this Leicestershire example:

'The specified HLTA work may be delivered to whole classes, without the presence of a teacher, on an ongoing basis as part of routine timetabling (e.g., PPA[4] *provision) and/or on a more ad hoc basis as part of the school's strategy for planned absences of up to 3 days. HLTAs may also undertake day-to-day management responsibility for TAs, LSAs and classroom volunteers; and contribute to policy and strategic development.'*

(Leicestershire city council, 2015)

In Australia likewise, although Teaching Assistants (TAs) are deployed to support pupils with SEN, they also assist teachers and provide any kind of help required such as 'remedial help to struggling students or challenging work to advanced ones' (Darden 2009 in Butt & Lowe, 2012). In other words, although TAs are deployed in line with an agenda of integration and inclusion, their support may be offered to any pupil regardless of SEN diagnosis. TAs there perform a comprehensive range of support staff duties but may also act as Learning Support Assistants in classes (Butt & Lowe, 2012).

In Northern Island, under the Education Act of 1981, there was an increase in the number of support staff employed to help pupils with disabilities and learning difficulties to integrate into mainstream classes (Moran & Abbott, 2002). In 1995, to relieve teacher workloads and to let them focus on teaching, every Primary 1 class was allocated a

[4] Planning, Preparation and Assessment.

teaching assistant (ibid). That also implemented inclusive education for pupils with special needs and contributed to the education of all pupils (ibid).

In Hong Kong, similarly, TAs support pupils with SEN but also support teachers to reduce their workloads (Hong Kong Government 2001 in Trent, 2014). Hong Kong is unique in that bilingual TAs take on a pedagogical role in supporting pupils in English and Chinese (Hong Kong Government 2002 in Trent, 2014).

As an example of a more flexible definition of needs, 'Additional Support Needs' (ASN) is the term used in Scotland, where it refers to a wide and undefined range of conditions that require support 'for whatever reason' (see below *1.-(1)*). It emphasises the responsibility of the system to respond to the child in whatever way is required (Scottish Government, 2009).

The 'Support for Learning' Code of Practice (Scottish Parliament, 2010, p. 18) extends the definition to cover all children in official care except those specifically identified as not having ASN. Legal definition is as follows:

Legal definition of additional support needs

1.-(1) A child or young person has additional support needs for the purposes of this Act where, for whatever reason, the child or young person is, or is likely to be, unable without the provision of additional support to benefit from school education provided or to be provided for the child or young person.

(1A) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1), a child or young person has additional support needs if the child or young person is looked after by a local authority (within the meaning of section 17(6) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 (c.36)).
(1B) But where, in the course of identifying (in accordance with the arrangements made by them under section 6(1)(b)) the particular additional support needs of a child or young person who is looked after by a local authority (within the meaning of section 17(6) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 (c.36)), an education authority form the view that the child or young person is, or is likely to be, able without the provision of additional support to benefit from school education provided to or to be provided for the child or young person, subsection (1A) ceases to apply.

Interestingly, each school's responsibility to provide 'effective and efficient education for all children' is emphasised by the provision that a need for additional support may arise because of an inappropriate learning environment such as school ethos or curriculum arrangements (Scottish Parliament, 2010, p. 24). That any pupil may have ASN is illustrated by the extension of the definition to cover 'highly able pupils who may be insufficiently challenged' (ibid). Very able pupils may need something extra to achieve

their full potential. Additional support is available, in law, to promote any individual pupil's 'learning, achievement and full participation'(Scottish Parliament, 2010).

In Scotland, 'PSA' (Pupil Support Assistant) is the title broadly used along with, by the decision of local employing authorities, 'Classroom Assistant', 'Additional Needs Assistant' and 'ASN Auxiliary'. Whatever the title, they are employed:

'To help promote effective learning and teaching through both the organisation and use of resources and support for teachers, personal development and an atmosphere (care and welfare of pupils) in which pupils can achieve to reach their potential under direction and supervision through encouraging and supporting learning.'

(Aberdeen City Council, 2018)

Support for learning in Scotland is closely related to the GIRFEC[5] (Getting it right for every child) agenda (Scottish Government, 2013). A PSA is roughly equivalent to a TA/LSA but the PSA's role is broader and includes not only academic support but also 'supervising breaks and lunchtime, returning pupils home occasionally and providing medical and/or personal care for pupils as required' (Aberdeen City Council, 2018; City of Edinburgh, 2018). 'Additional Support Needs' covers a broad range of needs, including a need for short-term support in particular circumstances. The purpose of the provision is to help pupils to achieve their full potential. Any pupil may have educational needs and support assistance in any appropriate form has to be available to meet them.

(Table 3.2) Titles of support assistants in systems with flexible eligibility for support

Title	Nation	Definition of role (*reference*)
Pupil Support Assistant (Additional Needs Assistant, Classroom Assistant, ASN Auxiliary)	Scotland	Assistant to help promote effective learning and teaching through the organising and use of resources and through support for teachers, personal development and atmosphere for pupils to achieve full potential *(Aberdeen City Council, 2018).*
	England & Wales	Assistant to support teachers and help children with their educational and social development, both in and outwith the

[5] GIRFEC (Getting it right for every child) is a Scottish Government Policy 'to improve outcomes for all children but especially the most vulnerable. It applies to all children's services and professionals in adult services who work with parents or carers under the provisions of the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014 (Scotland, 2018). https://education.gov.scot/scottish-education-system/policy-for-scottish-education/policy-drivers/Getting%20It%20Right%20For%20Every%20Child%20(GIRFEC)

Teaching Assistant (TA). Learning Support Assistant (LSA)		classroom *(Leicestershire City Council, 2015; National Career Service, 2018*). She/he may have a general role in the classroom or may be assigned to assist a particular pupil *(Wallace, 2009).* * TA provides academic support across the class, but LSA provides 1:1 intervention for pupils with SEND *(EduStaff Head Office, 2018).*
	Australia	Assistant to support pupils with SEN (complying with IEP) and other pupils whether struggling or advanced. *(Butt & Lowe, 2012).*
Teaching Assistant (TA)	Northern Ireland, Hong Kong	Assistant to support pupils with disabilities or learning difficulties (Northern Ireland) or Special Educational Needs (Hong Kong) and to relieve teacher workloads. *Bilingual TAs in Hong Kong also have a teaching role. *(Moran & Abbott, 2002; Trent, 2014).*
Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA)	England & Wales	Assistant who works in a classroom support role but with a high degree of autonomy and responsibility *(Wallace, 2009).* She/he acts as specialist assistant for particular subjects, leads classes under the direction of the teacher, supervises other support staff and may cover classes for teacher's PPA. *(Hancock, Hall, Cable, & Eyres, 2010; National Career Service, 2018).*

Despite the different backgrounds and rationales of support assistant provision internationally, nations commonly recognise the state's responsibility to meet pupils' diverse educational needs. Support assistants are deployed to implement that responsibility. However, the meaning of the terms, "needs" and "support", can be quite different. The implications of the various different views show various answers to fundamental questions about the current practice of special and inclusive education, such as: "What are (special) educational needs?", "Why are those needs identified as special?" and "Who ought to be responsible for responding to them?" The view of needs and the ways of responding to them are diverse and tend to imply the direction of inclusive education in any particular context.

Where “special needs” are defined as different from (general) educational needs, special education takes responsibility within or alongside the general education system. In those cases, inclusive education may be no more than “integration”, i.e. the provision of special education to specific pupils in a mainstream setting. That view seems to take for granted that special needs do exist and that they requires special support (Lewis & Norwich, 2005a). It can easily lead to limited eligibility for support, as in S. Korea, the U.S.A. and Singapore. Good intentions to include diverse learners may have negative consequences for the restricted range of supported pupils through stigmatisation and heightened perceptions of individual deficiency. Parallel systems may also give rise to tension regarding expertise and responsibility between professionals, class teachers, special education teachers and support assistants because that arrangement leaves open the question of what special support is, who should provide it and how.

On the other hand, where special needs are not considered to be distinct and where any conditions and circumstances that require support are naturally dealt with within the whole education system, neither the range of support nor eligibility for support are restricted. Both difficulties and strengths in learning can challenge teachers, institutions and educational systems, and the making of efforts to meet them is considered key to nourishing the potential of learners (Singal, 2014). Support is given and taken as part of learning and teaching for anyone. In those cases, the term “special need” is not relevant because inclusive education embraces a wide range of educational needs within the educational structure.

Although support assistant provision may have been introduced with similar intentions to meet diverse educational needs, approaches to implementation of the provision vary according to views of needs and support. Therefore, the roles and responsibilities of assistants and the range of pupils assisted also carry different implications. More fundamentally, views of individual difference and difficulties in learning and of the best ways to deal with those would directly and indirectly influence the practice of teaching and learning and the ways in which teachers work with support assistants in class.

3.2.3. Implementation of support assistant provision

There have consistently been calls to scrutinise the effect of support assistance in schools to measure the impact on learning and inclusion. Recent research has shown that support assistants undertake more active roles in teaching and learning than is formally

acknowledged (Warhurst et al., 2014). It is natural that they spend more time with pupils and that there should be an impact. A wide range of issues have arisen, including equality and equity in education and basic issues such as justification for the assistant's pedagogical role.

3.2.3.1. Ambiguity in concepts and tension in roles between professionals

Because of the increased time spent by assistants in interaction with pupils and in a pedagogical role, the level of that role and professional training to maximise effectiveness have been commonly discussed (Giangreco et al., 2010; Webster et al., 2011). A related issue recognised as problematic has been the extent to which schools and staff have been unprepared for the widening pedagogical responsibility of support assistants (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). There is no consensus about the justification for that pedagogical role and its impact. The largest teachers' union in the UK points to an inappropriate invasion of support assistants (TAs) into the professional realm of the teacher (McAvoy 2003 in Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). The making of pedagogical decisions by assistants has been challenged as being beyond their expertise (Giangreco, 2010).

Regardless of educational context, there is generally confusion between the concepts of teaching and support, and an associated ambiguity in the identities of teachers and support assistants (Trent, 2014; Tucker, 2009). In other words, support and teaching are not always clearly distinguished. Even where a teacher recognises that teaching is his/her unique responsibility and should extend to all of the pupils in the class, having a support assistant for a certain pupil (a pupil with SEN) may allow her/him to relinquish responsibility for that pupil. The other side of that is that assistants, although having little authority, make pedagogical decisions which directly involve pupils' learning. That ambiguity between the concepts of learning and support is also evident in 'grey areas' in support assistants' roles (Thomas et al. 1998).

Along with complexity in roles and controversy about the justification for any teaching element, research has found conflict in the area of the 'power relationship' (Corbett, 2001, p. 86). For example, in England, HLTAs (Higher Level Teaching Assistants) have been described as 'boundary crossers' (Hancock et al., 2010, p. 108) because they frequently move in and out of a teaching role. The term indicates the professional and bureaucratic tension between teachers and HLTAs (Hancock et al., 2010). HLTAs are assistants but their role overlaps that of the teacher and they can demonstrate a high degree of

autonomy and responsibility, as when they independently lead classes and take part in planning lessons (Wallace, 2009).

3.2.3.2. Diversity in purpose, perspective and effectiveness

As seen above, even though inclusive education is the rationale for support assistance in many countries, the background, policy and terms used to define it vary according to the underlying views on needs, support and inclusion. Depending on the view of inclusion and the assumption behind the definition of support, support assistance differs, particularly in terms of eligibility. Wenger identifies a close connection between perspective and intention.

Wenger (1998) says, 'We pay attention to what we expect to see, we hear what we can place in our understanding, and we act according to our perspectives.'

Interpretations of "effectiveness" will vary but, albeit to varying degrees, the main agendas behind the provision of assistants are improvement in academic standards and inclusion. The academic aspect has been studied in several educational contexts (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Giangreco & Doyle, 2014; Giangreco, 2010; Lim et al., 2014; M. Park, 2010; Trent, 2014; Warhurst et al., 2014). There are differences of view about the effectiveness of assistance both in improving engagement and participation in learning and in bringing about actual improvements in academic progress. "Pupils" may refer to all pupils or just pupils with SEN.

Pupils' learning and participation as rationales for support assistance have been examined. Alborz, Pearson, Farrell, and Howes (2009) find that for SEN pupils, support assistance has been particularly beneficial in academic activities and communication with peers. They conclude that, in general, it has had a positive impact on the participation of all pupils and has helped pupils to engage in tasks and activities (ibid). Tucker (2009) also sees the work of support assistants as contributing not only to an increase in pupils' participation in learning but also to teachers' academic engagement with pupils in classes.

From the point of view of the actual effectiveness of support in respect of academic progress, the research reveals a different stance and outcomes. In England, research has evaluated the effectiveness of the deployment and has examined appropriate roles for improving academic standards (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Rubie-Davies, Blatchford, Webster, Koutsoubou, & Bassett, 2010). The critically important but 'unproven assumption' that support assistance would raise and was raising academic standards and

would contribute and was contributing to progress for pupils led to large-scale national research projects such as CSPAR[6] (Blatchford, Russell, Bassett, Brown, & Martin, 2004), DISS[7] (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) and the EDTA[8] (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012).

The DISS research, a five year (2003-2008) government-funded project, was conducted in England to identify the characteristics and deployment of support staff (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). It aimed to describe the impact of assistance on teachers, teaching and pupils through scrutinising who Teaching Assistants (TAs) were and what they were doing (ibid). The conclusion by the project director was that, although the deployment was expected to produce positive consequences, more support for pupils' learning did not make for better academic progress than that made by pupils given less support (ibid). A range of negative issues in respect of quality and equality of learning and support remain open to debate.

Following the DISS project, the EDTA project was designed in response to a call for a fundamental reassessment of the way TAs were deployed in schools (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012). The project looked at the effectiveness of support assistance. It aimed to develop and evaluate alternative strategies to the three main components of the WPR[9] model, viz. preparedness, deployment and practice. An effort was made to enhance the quality of support, e.g., by improving questioning techniques to use open rather than closed questions and by greater accuracy in explaining concepts (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012; Webster et al., 2013).

Throughout the EDTA project, a range of productive changes were made. These included creating time for preparation and improving interaction in such a way as to encourage pupils' understanding rather than having them simply complete tasks (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012). The project found that ineffective support by support assistants was not the fault of any individual assistant but derived from systemic and structural problems. The support assistant workforce needed to be systematically empowered to improve support for learning. That is consistent with findings by Veck (2009), who urges an institutional change of perspective on difficulties in learning. He advocates that, where a difficulty in learning is understood to be due to the nature of an institution, the support assistants (Learning Support Assistants) could contribute to the 'production of inclusive education' and not merely be a resource to ease difficulty in

[6] Class Size and Pupil-Adult Ratios (CSPAR) Key Stage 2 Project.
[7] DISS: The Deployment and Impact of Support Staff (DISS) Project.
[8] EDTA: Effective Deployment of Teaching Assistants (EDTA) Project.
[9] Wider Pedagogical Model, which was devised for the DISS project (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012).

learning as individual deficiency. In studies which monitored and reflected on what was being provided, quality and impact on learning were the main concerns.

In addition, the same project, DISS, was used in a different educational context to consider pupils with disabilities who were supported by an assistant. The unique and extensive DISS project findings were recognised internationally when they were used for comparison with and corroboration of data collected in U.S. schools (Giangreco, 2010), where there had been a lack of compelling evidence of effective educational support for children with disabilities. Here, equality seems to be the main agenda to be reflected.

Separately from the purpose of the research, different stakeholders (teachers, pupils and assistants) had different views about the value of support assistance. For example, the DISS project was conducted mainly from teachers' perspectives and found that the deployment of TAs and their effectiveness depended largely on the teachers who managed and organised their work. Improvements desired by teachers tended to have an academic focus.

In research considering pupils' views, Bland and Sleightholme (2012) find that pupils value the support given by TAs with regard to 'curriculum matters and social issues'. Pupils tend to describe TAs in terms of personal characteristics rather than professional qualifications (ibid). More precisely, in CSPAR, case studies in Years 5 and 6 showed that most pupils do not see a difference between support by their teacher and support by a support assistant and they consider themselves to have benefitted from the assistant's help (Blatchford, Russell, Bassett, Brown & Martin, 2004, pp. 58–59). They particularly value 'reducing the time for help with practical tasks' (ibid). Pupils in other research also value support assistance for teachers in organising learning spaces, which enabled the teachers to focus on academic engagement (Blatchford et al., 2007; Choi, 2009; Tucker, 2009).

In this research, investigating the use of support assistance at the class level to enhance inclusive education for all, the focus is on quality and equality in learning and support as discussed below.

3.2.4. Challenges arising from the development of support assistance

The growth in the number of support assistants in many countries has given rise to controversial issues in relation to the inclusion agenda (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). Inclusive education as equal access to mainstream schooling has been taken forward so

it is clear that the increase in support assistance has made it possible to extend opportunities for pupils with SEN to attend mainstream schools but the quality of support and the assumptions on which it is based have come into question. There remain a range of negative issues, principally unintended exclusion and marginalisation (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2010, 2013) and the issue of quality of learning due to separation from the curriculum and the loss of the class teacher's attention (Giangreco, 2013; Webster et al., 2013; Williams & O'Connor, 2012). Changes and improvements in the concept of inclusive education require the questioning of existing practice. Support assistant provision was introduced to further educational inclusion but the assumptions behind the various forms of provision differ significantly.

3.2.4.1. Equality of learners in the class community

As the meaning of inclusion has evolved with the "equality" issue respecting learners' diversity within more inclusive forms of education is arguably the most difficult challenge facing schools today (Ainscow & Sandill, 2010). The question is how diversity is to be understood and responded to within any particular context. Against the background of an increase in assistants, the question now is how their support can ensure equality for diverse learners in a class community. According to Thomas and his colleagues (1998), where educational provision is aligned with the classroom learning context, pupils can be fully included as members of the community.

There has been critical questioning about the traditional model which has directed support assistance to low achievers and pupils with SEN (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). Receiving support may be useful for learning by the pupil assisted but there remain the questions of who is supported for what and how the support is used in the class community. Even though the DISS and EDTA projects were not primarily concerned with provision for SEN, the exclusive use of assistance for them and for low achieving pupils was questioned (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012; Webster et al., 2013). Restricting the range of pupils supported has been described as unjustified in an educational context. The pervasive tendency to confine mandatory support assistance to pupils with 'statements' has been criticised as an inappropriate 'hard-wired tendency' (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012, p. 32) (Blatchford et al. 2012). That underpinning bias is considered to be a 'mistaken belief about mandatory TA (Teaching Assistant) support for pupils with Statement' (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012, p. 31) as constant support, whether or not necessary, stigmatise supported pupils with a particular identity.

More fundamentally, an issue-related exclusive application of support assistance reflects a policy which is exclusive as well as inclusive. Behind the provision of support assistance, there may be a dichotomy in education policy between inclusive education and special education. Giangreco (2010) critically points to the co-ordination of general and special education to support pupils with SEN in mainstream schools. In U.S. schools, as in S. Korea, support assistance is implemented for disabled pupils by the special education sector, separate from general education. Support is used as compensation for perceived deficits in certain pupils. It is natural that those who face greater learning challenges will require more attention and support. However, if that is dealt with by an assistant, that exclusive application of support may give rise not only to the stigmatisation and marginalisation of the supported pupil but also to inequality in receipt of attention from the teacher (Blatchford, Russell, & Webster, 2012; Giangreco, 2010). That is because, where the special provision in the form of support assistant is the sum total of inclusive educational provision, the class teacher, by regarding that pupil's education as the responsibility of the special educator/support assistant, may in effect neglect the supported pupil. Ironically, support may create "in-class exclusion". Where exclusion is circular, a support assistant often constitutes 'boundary maintenance' (Armstrong, 1999, p. 86) which determines who is valued and who is not (Armstrong, 1999; Veck, 2009).

To improve equality, Giangreco and Doyle (2014) encourage schools in the U.S. to build 'alternative support' into the general education system in ways which would enable all pupils to benefit and to introduce forms such as peer support and collaborative group work. In Singapore, similarly, Lim, Wong, and Tan (2014) urge teachers and support assistants to reconceive the idea of support from being for pupils with SEN to being for all pupils, as a first step in a move toward inclusivity in education. Based on concepts of equity and the equal value of all pupils, the focus of special educational needs is challenged and change is urged to embrace the diverse needs of all pupils (ibid). In South Africa too, where the role of the support assistant is confined to support for certain pupils, the systemic change is urged (Dreyer, 2011).

The long and the short of it is that the exclusive application of support assistance to pupils with SEN inevitably involves inequality between learners with the subsequent stigmatisation of those seen to be in need of exceptional help. Booth and Ainscow (2002) focus on a community: what is provided should be available to all of the members of the classroom community rather than on individually differentiated provision. They emphasise equal access to opportunity in the class community. More precisely, Blatchford, Webster and Russell (2012) urge the universal availability of support assistance: 'it should be omnipresent in the class for every pupil'. Through reflecting on the use of support

assistance in class and reviewing systems of inclusive and special education, efforts have been made to improve the inclusive use of support assistance.

3.2.4.2. Quality of support and teaching

Considering the nature of support, pupils with SEN may attract more support than others from a support assistant simply because greater need requires more support. There is an issue of equality between learners, but the quality of the support provided by the assistant is equally important.

A pedagogical problem emerges regarding the quality of education given to SEN pupils receiving more support by assistance - they are spending less time learning from the class teacher than are other pupils (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012).

Overprotection of those assisted pupils has been identified as another problem (Giangreco, 2013; Lehane, 2016). Support may limit an assisted pupil's interaction with peers and with the class teacher and cause loss of opportunity to learn from the teacher. A fundamental question is why 'the least qualified school personnel, namely teacher assistants, to students with the most complex learning challenges' (Giangreco, 2010, p. 341). The assistant's pedagogical role has also been criticised on the grounds of lack of professional qualification as a teacher and lack of subject knowledge. (Williams and O'Connor 2011). The teacher has unique responsibility.

To challenge that approach, the use of the support assistant has to be reconsidered to ensure equality in receipt of teaching from the class teacher, the primary learning source. The EDTA research, based on the complexity of problems encountered, focused rather on how the quality of support might be improved (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012). Equal access to teacher's attention seems to match equal eligibility for support assistance reciprocally. To ensure the subject teacher's responsibility for all learners, one secondary school relocated TAs from the Learning Support (LS) Department to subject departments. Another trial extended the range of pupils supported from low-attaining pupils and those with SEN to the whole class, which allowed the class teacher to give attention to individual learners and groups for whom support assistants had traditionally been deployed (ibid). That led to a change in practice to ensure that those pupils would learn from their class teachers and would be rendered less liable to be stigmatised (ibid). Support assistants were redeployed in a number of ways with various pupil groups in mainstream classrooms. They sometimes supervised whole classes to enable the class teachers to work with

particular groups. They also functioned as supervisors for activities while the teacher gave individual correction during a maths period (ibid).

There have been a range of challenges with regard to the use of support assistance but, equally, there appears to be movement toward using it in a productive way to improve the quality of education for all pupils in school communities. Improvements have been made to encourage change in the fundamental direction of support assistance so that it becomes not the primary source of teaching for any pupil but supplementary, as additional provision (Giangreco, 2010, 2013). To ensure the quality of support and teaching, 'full access' to equal opportunity of instruction from the qualified teacher is emphasised (Giangreco, 2010). Although support and teaching are both indispensable (Trent, 2014) and often not distinct but overlapping, 'full access' would ensure that the qualified teacher has primary responsibility for teaching. The major caveat about support is that it should not be used as a replacement for teaching (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012).

3.2.4.3. Support assistance and stigmatisation

Stigmatisation is widely related to the notions of "need and support". In S. Korean research Oh and Kim (2018) point, as do Park and his colleagues (2006), to the population of pupils not having SEN entitlement but having disabilities/difficulties. Due to resistance to stigmatisation, parents refuse to have their children labelled as having SEN. Those pupils are not entitled to receive the support they need. Stigmatisation can be seen in any context of any SEN-centred application of support provision. However, whether looking at it as an issue can be diverse. In other words, the phenomenon arises from a combination of educational policy, social ethos and individual perception.

As discussed in 3.3.4., where a class teacher considers that support assistance itself is making learners unequal, it is replaced by peer support and teacher support (Florian & Linklater, 2010). In such cases, support assistance is eliminated to be inclusive. Others have made efforts in different ways to combat stigmatisation, for example, when the implementation of support assistant provision is neither questioned nor eliminated but improvements are made to use it to everyone's benefit. The range of supported pupils is extended from some to all and the teacher's teaching and attention are equally available to all the pupils (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Blatchford, Russell, & Webster, 2012; Florian & Spratt, 2014).

By contrast, where the provision of support assistance to specific learners only is taken for granted, stigmatisation might not be an issue. For example, where a teacher sees that

intensive and exclusive support assistance provided by an assistant is over-protective and would deprive the recipient of teacher attention, stigmatisation does not become an issue (Ko, 2009). With that perspective, a teacher might uncritically hold the belief that learners are divided into two groups according to SEN statement. Mainstream teachers with that view, and pupils in their classes, tend to see support assistance positively as benefiting them, i.e. by letting them concentrate on their own learning and teaching without disturbance by an SEN pupil. The quality of learning and participation of pupils with SEN are not primary concerns. Allowing the SEN pupils to attend the class is considered to constitute implementation of inclusive education (Park, Lee, & Hur, 2015). The status of pupils with SEN (34.4%) in such mainstream classes is described as 'no participation and no disturbance' and 60% of the mainstream teachers in that research say that SEN pupils do not understand the lesson (Park et al., 2015, pp. 58–59). According to Heo (2013), 41% of pupils in mainstream classes consider that SEN pupils are disabled and are different from themselves.

Other issues relate to stigmatisation including quality of learning and participation, identity and self-esteem. In S. Korea, pupils with SEN, despite struggling to participate in lessons in mainstream classes, would rather belong to the mainstream class than to the special class (Lim & Seo, 2016). They are very fearful of being labelled as special because of having to go back and forth from a special class (Lee & Hong, 2012; Lim & Seo, 2016). That research reveals that receiving support in a special class not only confers the status of "being different" but also creates a barrier for the pupil to establish his/her identity as a member of the mainstream class community. Pupils with SEN feel at home in their special class but also feel a degree of shame. A vignette from a pupil is as below (Lim & Seo, 2016, p. 121).

When I was tired I put my head down on the desk. Then the teacher said to me "Do not put your head down on the desk, it is rude. If you want to do it, I will let you go to the special class". I was so upset because she does not treat me as a human-being but just 'the disabled' and I was also very embarrassed as my peers looked at me while the teacher spoke to me loudly.

The authors comment that those negative experiences give SEN pupils a negative self-image and often contributed to negative self-esteem and failure to recognise their own strengths.

Some Korean researchers look at dealing with stigmatisation issues by changing external conditions, e.g., by providing an alternative way of delivering special education services (Lee & Hong, 2012) and simplifying the process of assessment for eligibility for SEN entitlement (Oh & Kim, 2018). Others think that the quality of life of pupils with SEN

can be improved by a better understanding of disability and a change of attitude on the part of other pupils and teachers (Lee & Lee, 2017). In these proposed solutions, however, the pupils with SEN are still regarded as beneficiaries. The concepts related to that perspective, i.e. difference, disability, community and belonging, should be examined to discover the reality of inclusive education. More importantly, it would be helpful to better understand human diversity and how to approach it.

A piece of research (H. Park, 2010) questions the purpose of inclusive education by looking at the isolation of children in early years who are supported by support assistants. She considers individual teachers' experiences and the collective meaning of those as indispensable in deciding the direction of inclusive education. This present research may contribute to that.

3.2.5. Support assistants and their function in the class

> (Corbett, 2001, p. 85) … Whilst some LSAs (Learning Support Assistants) felt they worked really collaboratively with teachers; others felt they were 'kept in the dark' and used in a very limited way. Others were given too much responsibility, for example, being expected to write the IEP (Individual Education Programme) for a child as one of their tasks. This diversity of experience in one authority made me realise that the way in which LSAs are deployed is related to the particular school itself…

The quotation shows both the variation in the level of work that assistants do (or may be expected to do) and the related issue of their identity and function in the class. One is barely recognised while another is deeply involved in a pupil's learning. In similar vein, Lim , Wong and Tan (2014) describe diversity in colleagues' perceptions of assistants (Allied Educators in Singapore), from the 'magician' to 'babysitter'. An assistant may be expected to be an expert able to resolve any issue related to special education or, on the other hand, may not be recognised in the class. Here it is not so much a matter of what they do, but of how they are seen and used. As Corbett (2001) notes, the same support assistant may be used differently according to the class, school or wider structure.

The teacher's perspective on the support assistant and support itself are significant as they will determine that teacher's decision-making with regard to the deployment of the support assistant. If support assistance is understood in terms of a social hierarchy of educators, a low-value may attach to it. A rigid professional boundary which obstructs meaningful assessment and teaching for inclusion, as criticised by Singal (2014), may override the quality and equality of learning for pupils. If assistants are prevented from

contributing fully to their schools or the class, they and their work may be downgraded. Both intended and unintended forms of exclusion of support assistants from school communities should be taken into consideration in mainstream schools. Failure to do that may in effect downgrade assisted pupils too. Slee (2011) criticises the special identity bestowed on both the disabled pupils and professionals working with those pupils.

On the other hand, there is also evidence of a quite different attitude to support assistance. Research conducted by Thomas, Walker and Webb (1998) found support assistants (LSAs) encouraged to use their capabilities as team members. Individual teachers' and assistants' strengths, as well as weaknesses, were considered significant in planning lessons. Based on freedom and flexibility that encouraged a wide range of roles and responsibilities, support assistants were deployed for general support in classes wherever appropriate. Their role was extended from simple monitoring as individual pupil helpers to more complex activities, which created 'on the spot differentiation' and contributed to the success of the venture (Thomas et al., 1998). Where flexibility is applied to the role of the support assistants, the assistant can be encouraged to develop professionalism and to contribute to the building of an effective support system for the whole community (Veck, 2009). Although several issues regarding the role of the assistant remain controversial, there is a need to encourage them to fulfil their potential and apply their professional expertise. Where support assistants' (LSAs') capacity for creativity, autonomy, and innovation is respected and expected by school staff, the positive effect of their support is maximised (Thomas et al., 1998).

Veck (2009) urges a new view on support assistants, as contributors rather than resources. He uses the idea of educational 'space' and the related idea that difficulty in learning can be eased. He suggests that the nature of an institution may yield a different perspective in which the support assistant could be seen to contribute to the production of inclusive educational space (ibid). A shift of thinking is urged with regard to the space in which support assistants (LSAs) work, a shift from 'exclusionary' space, where their support is confined to invisible support as a remedial resource for a certain group of pupils, to 'inclusive' educational space, where they would work as contributors to educational space for all learners. Those changes in conceptualised identity and space would require and follow a fundamental review of current practice, not just as a technical process involving minor amendments to the existing system but changes to schools as dynamic institutions that can thrive or diminish according to, among other things, the deployment of all available assets (Veck, 2009).

In a similar way, research has looked at the professional identity of assistants alongside external views and opinions about them. Giangreco and Doyle (2014) criticise

managerial attitudes under which assistants consider themselves to be ‘spare parts’. Tucker (2009, p. 298) sees assistants as having an ‘instrumental technical identity’ by which a role is clear but in the form of ‘strategic compliance’, which affords them little space to interpret and apply that role. He thinks that that identity needs to be challenged and reconceptualised as ‘creative and professional’. That would allow or expect more autonomy and a proactive identity for them to work with teachers in partnership. As a development of the competence of teachers to work with others, assistants’ autonomy would be respected and encouraged in partnership (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012; Thomas et al., 1998; Veck, 2009). Here, support assistants are seen as significant for successful inclusion, so collaboration is salient (Corbett, 2001, p. 87).

The most important issue in the area of support assistance is, it appears, the simply stated but complex one of how support assistance may best be used. Each member of the community has a responsibility to create a space worth everyone’s belonging to as a member of that community (Veck, 2009; Wenger, 1998). Support assistants, therefore, by contributing expertise to the context of learning and teaching, could be conceived of as educational contributors and professionals who can enrich class communities and the school, to the benefit of all learners.

3.3. The perspective of the study: the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach

Depending on the particular background of policy and intended outcomes, support assistance has been implemented differently between and even within countries. Despite diversity in views and in legal terms and definitions relating to support assistance and needs, a common rationale for support is “implementing inclusion”. Although official policy may dictate that support assistance be implemented in a particular way, there may be wide variation in the actual roles and responsibilities of support assistant and teachers at class level.

In class, the teacher creates the context which determines the role of the support assistant (Lehane, 2016) and, to a great extent, decides what the role of their support assistant will be and how that assistance will be used (Warhurst et al., 2014). It seems obvious, then, that support contexts in classes will vary widely. It is important, therefore, to understand individual teachers' pedagogical decisions in relation to the ways in which they work with support assistants (Jeong, 2013; Lehane, 2016; M. Park, 2010).

Transmitting those decisions into the pattern of individual class practice would suggest the barriers and possibilities.

Developing inclusive education is an ongoing process (Ainscow, 2007, 2014; Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Veck, 2014). Therefore, with the development of educational inclusion, the function of support assistance and the views of what support assistants should be and do have been reconsidered and changed. The primary focus of this study, investigating contemporary practice of support assistance in S. Korea, is a close and detailed examination of the operation of support assistance, of what happens between stakeholders and of the views of individuals from each stakeholder group. The actual circumstances of each class have been examined and interpreted to identify the conditions that enhance or hinder inclusive education.

Inclusive education is articulated to justify the theoretical perspective of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (IPA). Sub-themes are 1) the importance of the views of disability and SEN, 2) recognising the teacher's responsibility and 3) development of the IPA. Then, in line with the subject of the study, 4) the third principle of the IPA, ways of working with and through others (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012, p. 574) is reviewed.

3.3.1. Views of disability and special educational needs

This research tries to see the contemporary phenomena of support assistance and inclusive education from a different standpoint. There are two broad views of disability and special education needs, one more traditional and the other, a quite different view, considered in this research to be ideal.

Concepts of disability differ significantly among countries and are reflected in policies and modes of allocating resources (Ebersold & Evans, 2008). The perspective on "disability" is closely related to the concern with children (or adults) with special education needs. In one view, their difficulties and disabilities are considered simply to be cases of individual weakness (Fulcher, 1989). That perspective, deeply rooted in the reductionist concept that impairment reduces human dignity and value, fails to take full account of the relationship between the particular impairment a child may have and the educational provision that may be required (ibid). Furthermore, it ignores the 'relative' notion of how the concept of disability has developed in society (ibid). It leads researchers to focus on how to compensate for a deficiency or defect, and their outcomes are attributed to a 'bestowed understanding' under which pupils with difficulties are deemed to have

problems or even be problems, so that they have become the object of others' attitudes (Slee, 2011). Any view of disability will have a bearing on the view of special educational needs. Special educational needs may be understood from a 'psychological' position which focuses on how to compensate for the deficit in one or more diagnosed categories (Mintz & Wyse, 2015).

In the context of this study, this issue is systemic. The school curriculum in S. Korea includes reference to topical social questions. Every mainstream school is encouraged to hold an event on Disabled Day (20th April). Annually since 2005, the Department of Education and the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS; national public broadcaster of South Korea) have produced an audio clip and other resources for use in the event by LEAs and schools. Each school is required to compile a record of its event. Available resources include successful life stories of heroes who overcame their disabilities. Enlightening mainstream pupils about how to understand and help "disabled friends" at school has been a common theme in the events (KBS & Ministry of Education, 2018). A specially produced drama on the theme 'How to become a friend of disabled fellow pupils at school' is often provided by the national broadcasting system. In 2015, the programme title was: The Diary of Young-Su: a disabled pupil in a wheelchair. Mainstream pupils are often invited to identify with disabled people, for example, by being blindfolded and trying to eat or by using a wheelchair to get about. After their experience, mainstream pupils write an account of their new understanding of disability and produce essays, posters, letters etc.

At first glance, the purpose of the event, to encourage mainstream pupils to think empathetically about "disability", seems laudable and indeed there is much to be said in its favour. The underlying assumption, however, is that the person with a disability is in need of help (Fulcher, 1989). The traditional view of disability, of pupils in need, different from others, is still pervasive but has recently been criticised by persons with disabilities themselves in S. Korea. A 'union of persons with disability' campaigned for the abolition of "Disabled Day" and against the discrimination and stigmatisation that the day itself implied (Lee & Yonhapnews, 2017). More proactively, a motion of the organisation 'People with Disabilities' was legally passed to 'abolish the "Disability rating", the branding iron of disability, by stages'. From July 2019, the National Assembly of S. Korea will gradually amend the 'Act on Welfare of Persons with Disabilities' (Hong & Newsis, 2017). They were appealing against the stigma and discrimination that they experienced in society. The intention and the result of the policy now being replaced seem to be driven, as Slee (2011) comments, by the objectifying of a specific population who receive benevolence from the majority of the society.

That view finds practical application in ‘integration’, whereby schools pursue inclusion as a technical issue through the deployment of special equipment and ‘special’ personnel to support certain pupils (Vlachou, 1997). Integration is still misused as inclusion in many societies, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region (Opertti, Walker, & Zhang, 2014), including S. Korea. Knowledge of the categories of disability and the related unique needs of each category are still the most important components of the knowledge required by teachers qualifying as special educators in S. Korea (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2014).

Ainscow, Booth, and Dyson (2006) put forward the view that attention to narrow outcomes and targets rather than good conditions for teaching and learning can be barriers to inclusion. Giving more importance to conditions for teaching and learning would challenge teachers to consider how to improve the learning environment for all pupils regardless of having disabilities or other individual difficulties. Acquired information about particular forms of disability may help teachers to understand those conditions of disability but does not prescribe how to teach and support the pupil affected.

In the ‘social model’, impairments are considered to be human differences which should be socially interpreted. They involve a subjective collection of cultural and educational choices. That social model calls for the transformation of the conventional point of view on human differences, from seeing them as problems in need of normalising to recognising the dimensions of human diversity (Gallagher, 2014). The ‘relative’ notion holds that disability is a socially interpreted concept rather than being merely an ‘existing condition or quantifiably measurable’ (ibid). The model requires us to face an imbalance of power and to challenge current practices and systems in order to ‘change the context’ in school and in wider society (Gallagher, 2014; Slee, 2011). From this sociological position, SEN is seen as product of interaction between an individual and the system, an interaction which might develop through a change of perspectives and experiences (Mintz & Wyse, 2015).

A different view of disability and SEN would change the learning context in schools. It would change, for example, Disabled Day, which focuses on individual differences, impairment and disorders, which are regarded as objective and as facts to be learned. In other words, when pupils learn about ‘the five senses’, they are in effect learning about the conditions of disability in a natural way. Learning about the mechanics of human sight, the invention of Braille as an alternative language or the relationship between ears and brain would be good examples. Teachers could encourage pupils to discern the relationship between impairment and people-with-impairment through leaving space between the two. As the five senses are common subjects in the curriculum and impairment is something that anyone may have, pupils could be encouraged not to identify

people (especially other pupils) primarily by the condition of impairment. Encouraging every pupil to think about his or her individual rights as a unique person and to discuss how to build an equal society in the classroom might be a more constructive path to inclusion in school. It would also contribute more to the abolition of effective exclusion than simply delivering knowledge about disability does. Learning could be meaningful for everyone or could create injustice, depending on how it is constructed and on in what ways the meaning of what is learned is shared.

Recognising the two different views on disability and SEN, it is worth looking at what routes are followed to implement inclusive education and why certain practices have developed. Even though the S. Korean model of special and inclusive education is based on the traditional medical model and though a category-based understanding of learners' needs still dominates, "responding to diversity in human difference" may establish a new standpoint. Without reflection on our engagement in action and interaction, learning may tend to simply reproduce existing social structures.

3.3.2. The teacher creates the context of inclusion or exclusion

Individual pupils are given their identity according to the perspectives of the system. Razer, Friedman, and Warshofsky (2013) describe a 'frame of exclusion' in which a pupil with SEN is considered to be in need of normalisation. Similarly, Slee (2011) calls pupils so treated, a 'surplus population' in which a pupil with SEN is regarded as an extra member of the class. That pupil's educational rights may easily be infringed and the outcome may well be the creation of a negative stigma in the class community. Slee urges a full understanding of exclusive practice as a prerequisite for creating inclusive practice. Exclusion within a school community is often circular - a pervasive division of pupils derives from a negative view of those groups of learners whose needs are clearly emphasised by the dominating population (Veck, 2009). Florian (2014a, p. 10) also criticises the notion of division in learners.

> 'There is a common understanding that it involves something "different from" or "additional to" that which is generally available to others of similar age in schools. These are based on the notion that what schooling systems ordinarily provide, will meet the needs of most learners, while a few, at the tail ends of a normal distribution, may require something additional or different."

Then how is inclusion manifest in the class?

Booth and Ainscow (2002) define inclusion as minimising exclusion and maximising participation. The level of participation seems to determine the level of inclusion. More proactive than participation is engagement, 'the quality of education that children receive' (Singal, 2014), which includes the pupil in the community. Wenger (1998) critically distinguishes between participation and engagement. A pupil placed in a mainstream class may participate in class activities but will not engage with or benefit from the curriculum unless the learning and experience are meaningful. According to Wenger, learning is a process of social participation, our response to the outcome of negotiations as our thinking and understanding have developed in the various contexts we have faced. A 'collectively negotiated response' is the property of a community created over time by the sustained pursuit of the shared enterprise through mutual support and interaction (ibid). Where inclusion is considered to be an ongoing process for developing meaningful participation for all (Ainscow, 2007, 2014), pupils' educational needs should consistently be challenged on the agenda of the whole community and every effort should be made within the community to learn a shared meaning. The quality of learning and the level of engagement would determine a learner's identity in the class. Where every pupil is recognised by the others as a full member and all the members are identified as one community, there is inclusion. Inclusion requires attention to the context of learning and the making of an effort to understand the individual difference and collective stories that will yield implications for effective change.

So how can an exclusive context be changed to an inclusive context in which there is meaningful learning for all in the community?

Researchers give a lot of weight to the individual teacher's attitude and responsibility. Miles and Singal (2010) urge a critical reflection on social structures in the expectation that that will ultimately require teachers to challenge their pedagogical approaches and teaching practice. McLeskey and Waldron (2002) conclude that the successful implementation of inclusive education depends heavily on the view of the teacher who has major accountability for implementing it in practice. Similarly, Ainscow and Sandill (2010) also see inclusion as a social learning process in which what matters is how to develop individual practice and how to learn from one another in the community.

For example, the context and rationale for any decision by a teacher may be examined to assess whether that decision is consistent with learning and participation or just a convenient excuse for exclusion. Views of learners, teaching, and learning vary and each will have implications for the practice of inclusive education. At the chalk face, the teacher, as an individual and as a social collaborator, is a stakeholder who implements education policy and directly influences each pupil's learning and participation. A teacher may create

a range of learning scenarios that make it possible for all pupils to engage in the learning community or, alternatively, may create barriers and separation that allow few choices and opportunities for some pupils. In the daily routine of learning and teaching, the class teacher is responsible, insofar as anyone other than the pupil can be, for the learning of every learner. In Slee's book (2011), 'the boy with a satchel' (a pupil with ASN) is a metaphor for risk. His presence in the classroom may merely require additional resources, but it may also pose a challenge to a teacher's practice tuned to "normal pupils". The boy's educational provision will be decided by the teacher's perspective and willingness to challenge herself/himself. Similarly, a teacher's belief in his/her capacity is considered significant for a challenge to ingrained exclusion by Razer et al. (2013, pp. 1159-1160), who see exclusion as reinforced by a 'helplessness frame', a belief by the teacher that the teacher's help is useless, and a 'false-identity frame', a belief that pupils and parents are required to change. They urge teachers to exit those frames to respond to difficulty and diversity. Glazzard (2011) also urges teachers to reflect on the pedagogical approaches that ultimately challenge teachers themselves. Unless practitioners take responsibility for all learners, inclusion will remain a challenge. The demands of inclusion reflect the value they themselves give to learners. (ibid). Observation and reflection by Hart (2004, p. 47) on the work of individual teachers allowed the teachers to reach a 'fuller understanding of how the teachers conceptualized individual learning and fine-tuned their strategies for enabling learning at an individual level'.

Drummond and Hart (2014, p. 442) explain the process of change as 'transformability' through learning from current practice and analysing the different philosophies underpinning a set of decisions.

> 'There is always potential for change in current practice of achievement and response, that things can always change and be changed for the better, sometimes dramatically, as a result of what happens in the present, in the daily interactions of teachers and students.

As seen there, understanding and reflecting on current practice yields 'potential for change'. The challenges of inclusion include an ongoing process of self-reflection and a re-construction of the community (Veck, 2014). Ainscow (2007; 2014) sees those processes of change as a never-ending search to find a better way of responding to diversity through stimulating self-questioning that will lead to a recognition of overlooked potential to improve participation and learning in the spirit of inclusion. Booth (2011) sees inclusion as a process which demands critical reflection on values to apply it in action. The process of developing inclusion invites us to challenge and question our taken-for-granted understanding of current modes of implementation and to wake ourselves from

'uncritical conformity' (Slee, 2011). Through this, perspectives may change, and practice may be improved in a more inclusive way. Inclusion is here understood to be not as an aim but an ongoing progress (Ainscow, 2007, 2014; Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Veck, 2014), "moving forward through reflecting and changing". The Inclusive pedagogical approach discussed below implies that point of view.

3.3.3. Development of Inclusive Pedagogy

Classroom teachers are increasingly faced with a range of challenges in teaching pupils who exhibit diverse and often complex issues (Florian & Linklater, 2010). Although there may be a range of challenges and dilemmas in practice, there has been in recent years a steadily increasing effort to ensure that every learner is valued and that his or her educational needs are met in a way that fosters a spirit of class community. Directing inclusive education to focus on "everyone" has been advocated by several academics. McLeskey and Waldron (2002) claim that inclusion is to be regarded as no longer only for a special group of pupils but as a means of improving education for all. Ferguson (2008) also tries to apply the concept of inclusion to everybody, everywhere and all the time. The assumption is that pupils are all different and all equal but not in the same way at the same time (Ainscow, et al., 2006; Ainscow, 2007). In this sense, teachers are expected both to build bridges between diverse learners while respecting individual differences and to empower a whole community (Thomas, 2013). The question is one of how to respond in practice to the individual differences in the class community. Singal (2014) argues that inclusive education is a matter of how differences are understood and responded to - the core issue is what matters and how to achieve it.

Concern has arisen as to how to make educational provision accommodate all pupils without the differentiation of some pupils (Florian, 2014a, p. 17) that can create a barrier. Respecting contrasting values, differences and equality, in the practice of teaching and learning presents major challenges. A shift of perspective is urged:

> 'Special education as a specialised response to individual difficulty, towards one that focuses on extending what is ordinarily available to everyone in the learning community of the classroom, while acknowledging there will be individual differences, represents a subtle difference with profound implications for special education practice.'

The perception of difference as individual deficiency has been criticised as a social justice issue (Florian, Young, & Rouse, 2010). Florian and Rouse (2009, p. 600) try to

awaken teachers' understanding of educational and social problems in relation to children's learning. They advocate an understanding of individual differences as 'the interactions between many different variables rather than fixed states within individuals'.

As an initial movement, the inclusive Pedagogical Project (IPP), connected with an initial teacher education (ITE) programme at university level, was a trial to identify key concepts related to inclusive education (Florian & Rouse, 2009; Florian & Spratt, 2013; Florian et al., 2010). It was an early stage of research which later elaborated the inclusive pedagogical approach in Action (Florian, 2014b). Inclusive pedagogy is a theory-based approach developed by Florian & Black-Hawkins (2011) under which teachers accommodate all of their pupils without marginalising any. It was used to inform the training of teachers who were in the early stages of their career and were willing to enhance everybody's learning and participation. By using the Framework of Participation (Black-Hawkins, Florian, & Rouse, 2007; 2017; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), craft knowledge was collected from teachers and other staff demonstrating a high commitment to the implementation of inclusive education in a series of studies. The project systematically differentiated between two approaches, 'some/most pupils' in the individualised approach to inclusion, and 'everybody' in the inclusive pedagogical approach. Examples of strategies used in classroom practice applying the two approaches were compared. The characteristics of teachers' professional craft knowledge were then applied to the research into teacher's inclusive practice (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012). Collected evidence of inclusive practice from the two participating primary schools yielded an understanding of the complexity of Inclusive Pedagogy, an understanding which contributed to teachers' professional development. To encourage every pupil to be engaged in the meaningful learning community in the classroom, teachers were invited to extend their range of teaching scenarios and to widen opportunities (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011).

Inclusive Pedagogy is an approach whereby learners' differences are respected as a challenge to teachers to respond to in ways which include all pupils, with an open-ended view of pupils' potential (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). It encourages teachers to broaden pupils' learning opportunities through ways that are 'ordinarily available to everyone' in their daily practice (ibid). The principles of Inclusive Pedagogy are:

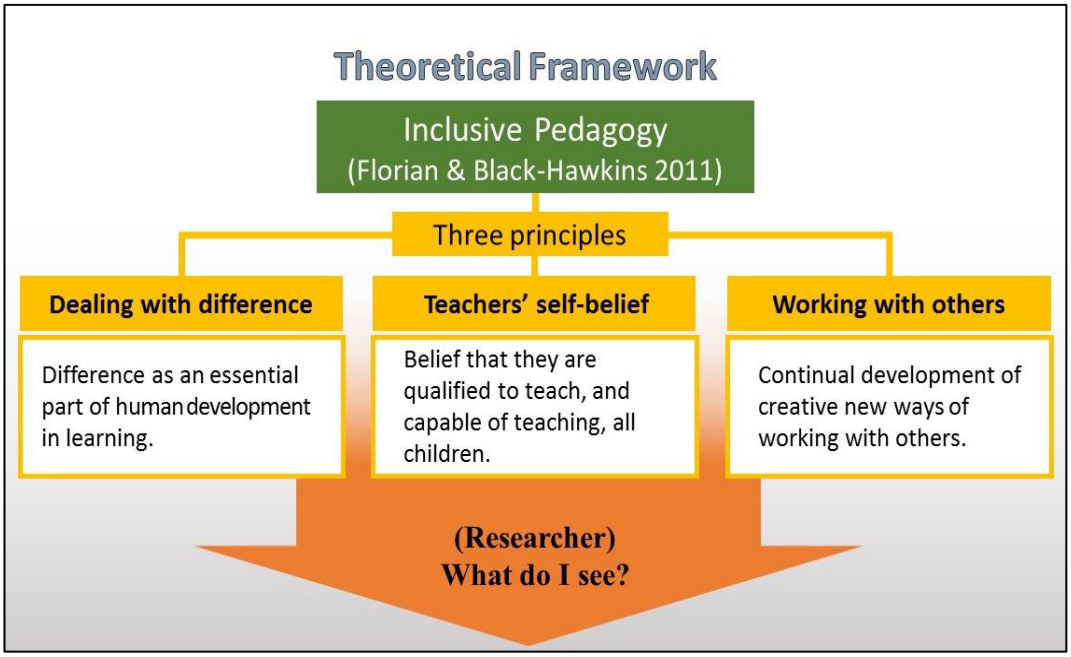
1) difference is accounted to be an essential aspect of human development in any conceptualisation of learning,

2) teachers should believe that they are qualified to teach and capable of teaching all children and

3) teachers should continually develop creative new ways of working with others.

Difficulties that pupils may face are understood as factors to be given consideration in learning and teaching rather than factors that should stigmatise or marginalise learners. Extending forms of activity in order to widen opportunities for everyone to learn (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) can meet individual needs by encouraging participation and allowing pupils to monitor their own progress at their own pace within the learning community of the class. The belief underpinning this approach is that every pupil has potential and will make progress in a different way and at a different pace. Equality of opportunity is assured and individual diversity is respected.

(Figure 3-1) Theoretical framework: Inclusive Pedagogy and the three principles



The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (IPA) gives teachers a robust theoretical ground and encourages them to try various applications. Although Inclusive Pedagogy was initiated by research in the U.K., the approach is open to be applied or adapted to other national and regional contexts where exclusion and separation are pervasive as well as to some in which efforts to introduce more inclusive forms of education have already begun. They include one developing country, Nigeria (Taiwo, 2015). A major issue has been how to apply comprehensive theories and associated practical considerations to the unique circumstances of each educational context. In this respect, Inclusive Pedagogy and its implications serve as a good reference for an examination of and challenge to current practice in any educational system.

Florian and Spratt (2014; 2013) detailing the application of Inclusive Pedagogy, propose that every pupil be given their own choice from a range of options provided by the class teacher rather than that the teacher provides additional or individual options for some. Florian and Spratt (2013) examine how the three principles of Inclusive Pedagogy were put into action in the practice of new (probationary year) teachers who were graduates of the Professional Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE)[10] in Scotland. To see how Inclusive Pedagogy (as taught in the PGDE course) was translated into the specific class context, detailed examples of decisions and strategies on teaching and planning were closely examined and were then analysed by a framework using specific course themes. Later on, more scenarios of inclusive practice applied by the experienced teachers who had taken a course in Inclusive Pedagogy at Masters level were added (Florian & Spratt, 2014). The research focused particularly on the 'everybody' element. Observations and interviews were distilled from the seven probationary teachers to show how each planned to lead their classes (strategies) and support all individual pupils. In actual implementation, the decisions that the teachers made varied and were context-specific, depending on individual pupils and classes (ibid). The collected evidence of challenges and successes in the application of Inclusive Pedagogy by highly motivated teachers enhanced the theoretical ground and its practical usefulness. *Appendix A* provides details of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach.

3.3.4. Application of inclusive pedagogy: diversity in "working with and through others"

In relation to the subject of the study, "Class teachers' work with support assistants at mainstream classes", the third principle of Inclusive Pedagogy, 'working with and through others' was particularly relevant. Throughout the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach research, various "others" were identified, including a head teacher (Florian & Spratt, 2013), an experienced teacher (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), a nursery nurse (ibid), support teacher (Florian & Spratt, 2014) and a Learning Support Assistant (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012).

Before the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach was elaborated, Florian and Linklater (2010) examined teachers' craft knowledge by using the notion of transformability to

[10] Professional Graduate Diploma in Education: supported by a Scottish Government funded research development project, the Inclusive Practice Project

enhance teaching and learning for everybody (Hart, 2004). On the basis of a concept of a co-agency, shared responsibility in learning between teacher and learners, 'new ways of working with others' (Florian & Linklater, 2010, pp. 382–383) was presented. That required that pupils actively seek new ways of being taught by making their own choices. An example of inclusive practice was also introduced. A boy who had been working with a support assistant or specialist out of the class, and was not integrated into the classroom at all, took part in an activity in the mainstream class and successfully participated in the lesson with his peers without the help of a support assistant. That was 'transformative' practice because the assumption that 'the pupil cannot cope with the same work as other pupils' was challenged and changed. Without a support assistant's involvement, everyone was included in the class community where the teacher exercised responsibility for everyone. In that research, the use of support assistance was challenged and eliminated as it did not fall into the category of working with others but under the principle of 'co-agency' between teacher and pupils. From the perspective of this research, working with an assistant might be optional or might be minimised by a teacher who decided to take responsibility for everyone. The "additional needs" approach would leave the support assistant in place.

On the other hand, where support assistance is a given, work with an assistant, based on the third principle of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, might require a different form of inclusive practice. Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011, p. 819) see difficulties in learning as being professional challenges for teachers that encourage the development of new ways of working rather than as being deficits in learners. The difficulties require that work with and through other adults should respect the dignity of learners as full members of the community of the classroom. Evidence of commitment in teachers' practice (p. 821) was presented. While the practice of a support assistant providing individual support to a certain pupil is considered as a 'most and some' approach or 'additional needs' approach, a classroom teacher's consultation with a support assistant to share ideas about teaching and learning belongs to the 'everybody' approach (the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach).

Depending on how support assistance is understood and functions in the class, the use of support differs between the two approaches. The first sees the assistant's work as additional support for some while the latter, collaboration with the class teacher, sees it as an asset enhancing learning and teaching for all of the pupils in the class.

In their research Black-Hawkins and Florian (2012, pp. 577–579) introduce examples of applying the third principle of Inclusive Pedagogy to challenge and change assumptions about the range of pupils who need to be supported by an assistant. Specifically challenged is the assumption that support assistants (Learning Support Assistants) work

with pupils with Statements of Need. In the research, an improvement made was that both the teacher and the support assistant were available to work alongside any group or individual rather than providing support assistance to certain pupils identified as having additional needs. The significant point here is that, even though the assistants had been assigned by the local authority to the management of the certain pupils' behaviour, they were actually redeployed for everyone in partnership with the class teacher. That decision (to redeploy) was made in consultation with staff in the school. A boy who formally was supported by an assistant came to work with his peers and was no longer seen as different. The presence of a support assistant was not challenged but a change was made in how to use the assistance. That was consistent with a study conducted by other researchers, Peter Blatchford and his colleagues (2012). Although not a direct application of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, assistants (TAs) were relocated to subject departments from a learning support department. That had the effect of sharing responsibilities between assistants (TAs) and subject teachers and so broadened the range of pupils supported while also directing the teachers' attention to all of the pupils.

Concepts of support assistance vary across the education system and between individuals. Support assistance is generally considered to be an "additional resource for some pupils" due to the complexity in the nature of support. Although there is a broad agreement about the value of the work of assistants, (Chambers, 2015; Thomas et al., 1998; Veck, 2009), there is no such consensus about best use. The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) lays out the difference between the two forms of use. Support assistance can be used to provide rich learning opportunities that are 'ordinarily available in the community of the class' rather than as 'additional provision for some, different from others'. Under the 'additional needs' approach, in which a class teacher seeks advice from support staff only for pupils with SEN and/or an assistant is deployed only to help such pupils to learn and participate, a limited form of inclusion is achieved. A teacher's inclinations about inclusive education and how to use support assistance will tend to determine how a support assistant is deployed. Practitioners' views on the function of support matter, as researchers have pointed out (Corbett, 2001; Thomas et al., 1998; Veck, 2009). The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) framework provides detailed guidelines for teachers willing to work inclusively with support assistants. The development and application of the IPAA framework[11] as a research interpretation tool is discussed in Chapter 4.

[11] The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) is a framework which provides principles, assumptions, challenges and evidence (Florian 2014) - it is presented in *Appendix B*.

3.4. Research questions

This research has investigated the practice of support assistant provision in S. Korean mainstream primary classes in order to identify how the assistance functions in the context of specific learning circumstances and in what ways it inhibits or enhances the practice of inclusive education. The assumptions and perspective that pervade the understanding of "special and inclusive education" derive from the legal foundation and official policy on integration. How that form of inclusive education has been pursued and what assumptions lie behind it are core ideas that this study has investigated.

The geographical area chosen for this research into how national policy worked in practice was Seoul, the capital. The research was conducted in seven classes in five state schools belonging to the Seoul Local Education Authority (Seoul LEA).

A slightly modified Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model was applied in this study as a research framework to collect data and was analysed and interpreted through the 'Inclusive Pedagogical Approach' (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) as a thinking tool (Thomas, 2011). From the theoretical ground of Inclusive Pedagogy 'including all without marginalising any', this research explored how each teacher has developed a pattern of practice in terms of teaching, supporting pupils and working with an assistant. To form a picture of what was happening in reality, the situations and related ideas examined in this study were the decisions made by class teachers with regard to the work of assistants. The study sought to clarify what kind of support was available for whom, why those kinds of support were seen as most beneficial (or not beneficial) and, from the stakeholders' viewpoint, how support assistance was being and will ideally be used to help pupils to learn and help teachers to teach and support pupils. Through observing current practice and each teacher's decision-making and through investigating the rationale of those practice, why and how certain forms of practice have been adopted or have developed in each class community is explained in relation to the theoretical ground of the 'everybody approach'.

The three main questions applied to the research subject and the subsidiary questions were as follows.

First, under "Enactment of support assistant provision":

a) What support does the assistant provide, to whom and in what form?
b) What factors influence the work of the support assistant?

Second, in order to see support assistance in the context of the class, the teacher's views on support assistance were examined. Class practice was interpreted according to the three principles of Inclusive Pedagogy and was compared with official policy and guidelines. The two questions asked were:

a) How does each teacher see support assistance and how does each apply it in practice?
b) How does the practice stand against the ideal of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA)?

Thirdly, the functioning of the provision was assessed against the standard of the IPAA. The practice was assessed as either an 'everybody approach' or a 'some or most' approach. Factors contributing to or inhibiting inclusive practice were identified.

a) How is the approach of 'some or most/everybody' applied to the research?
b) What factors applying to support assistance contribute to or inhibit inclusion?

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY and METHODS

4.1. Introduction

Methodology and methods are dealt with in the chapter under six headings: 1) methodological stance; 2) research design (instrumental case study); 3) tools for data collection and interpretation. And 4) methods for data collection; 5) coding and translation; and 6) ethical considerations.

The research questions I was asking assume that different people will make sense of things in different ways. Moreover, different perspectives could make the familiar unfamiliar through questioning what has been pervasive (Ainscow, 2014). Therefore I was looking for an interpretivist paradigm to help me make sense of my data (Bergman, 2008; Bryman, 2015; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Schwandt, 2007; Seale, 1999).

The complexity and diversity of inclusive practice were examined through investigating the use of support assistance in mainstream schools. In other words, the enactment of support assistant provision is used as a "subsidiary subject" (Lincoln & Guba, 1990), which gives scope and focus to see the practice of inclusive education in S. Korea. Therefore, this study took the form of an instrumental case study. (Thomas, 2011).

Support assistance had been monitored in many educational contexts with various perspectives and rationales. The study was designed to use the results of earlier research into the effectiveness of support assistance (the phenomena) and the theoretical development of inclusive practice (perspective), and applied both to day-to-day practice in a particular educational jurisdiction. More precisely, it looked at individual teachers' practice in responding to pupils' needs while working with a support assistant or, at least, while having a support assistant in the classroom. As a guideline for data collection, this study used a modified Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012). With that as a guideline, class observations and semi-structured interviews were conducted. The observed class situations and events provided information about what kind of support was available for whom in what context, according to the components of the model. The model was also used as a resource for the associated interviews, to seek the participants' intended or perceived meanings (the underlying assumptions and

intentions) in the scenes observed. To discover the implications of the collected data, each teacher's view was assessed against the theoretical ground of the study, the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011).

4.2. Methodological stance: qualitative research based on social constructivism

Research regarding the use of support assistants in mainstream schools in S. Korea has generally used quantitative surveys, e.g., into difference in perception between general and special education teachers on the use of support assistants (Choi, 2005; Choi, 2009; Choi & Lee, 2009; Oh, 2007) and the statistics compiled have been regarded as significant results. Intervention was also implemented to assess effectiveness through proving causality (M. Park, 2010). The underpinning methodological considerations regarding how to see the implementation of inclusive education (epistemology) rely heavily on a positivist view - producing results within a controlled frame, e.g., the logic of experiment, survey and using variables in implementing intervention (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Lincoln et al., 2011; Seale, 1999), to find the general tendency of a practice e.g., by identifying the level of satisfaction with it and its usefulness within the official context of inclusive education.

Erickson (1986) criticises using predetermined categories of standardised behaviour focused on the implications of causal relationships among observable behavioural variables because that diminishes the significance of the classroom process. So the positivist view overlooks the possibility of diversity and complexity in realities (Ragin & Pennings, 2005) through ignoring the intention of the main stakeholders in the provision and the specific time and context boundaries of the research which are continually being developed (Bryman, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Lincoln et al., 2011). In a similar vein, Simons (2009) criticises standardised assessment as not revealing how results were achieved, why some results were better than others and what the main influences were in the particular settings that led to specific results. Those reflections on the limitations of identifying a linear relationship between variables drove interest in investigating the socially constructed complexity of the phenomena, i.e. the perspectives of the participants, how the participants interacted with each other and in what ways these were influenced

by the circumstances of the moment (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Lincoln et al., 2011; Seale, 1999).

This study questions the view of the concept of inclusive and exclusive as 'simple dichotomies' (Ragin & Pennings, 2005) and the decisions about methodological choice which would reflect that view. To deal adequately with the diversity and complexity of the subject of this specific research context, rather than trying to distinguish whether a practice was inclusive or not, an effort was made to investigate the diverse realities of contemporary practice of inclusive education in terms of to what extent it was implemented and in what situations. For this, plural stakeholders' perspectives were sought. Those inquiries are based on social constructivism in that multiple voices (mainstream class teachers and support assistants) who have shared 'lived experiences' on the spot (Lincoln et al., 2011) construct what we conceive to be realities.

To identify the multiple realities of the contemporary practice of inclusive education, I preferred not to take a positivist or naturalist approach which would minimise the researcher's subjectivity while respecting only participants' views (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), I sought the views of participants (teachers and the assistants) and I chose the theoretical ground, the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian, 2014b; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) to assess those views against the 'some or most/everybody approach' (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Lincoln et al., 2011). That gave responsibility to me to understand and interpret the phenomena within the boundary of the context (Erickson, 1986).

The theoretical stance was used to identify diverse and complex patterns of practices that had implications, as challenges and possibilities, in developing inclusive practice in the research context. Contemporary integration policy encompassing the law and national and regional practices of inclusive education in S. Korea were questioned by providing evidence regarding the actual enactment of support assistant provision. The actual enactment showed the mainstream class teachers' perspectives. Although one teacher might decide to work with a support assistant in much the same way as another teacher, the pedagogical purposes underlying their decisions might be quite different. It was essential, therefore, to recognise the complexity of each situation and to understand how each individual view was formed (Savin-Baden & Major, 2012; Thomas, 2011) and how core concepts of study such as support, inclusion, difference, and difficulties are inter-related in the context of learning and teaching.

In the social constructivist view, a researcher is expected to gain a better understanding and knowledge of inclusive education by interpreting it as it is recognised

within its social context (Lincoln et al., 2011). In this study, to re-construct the values embedded in the implementation of inclusive education, readers (politicians and practitioners) are invited 1) to keep human dignity in mind and 2) to reconsider how to respond to individual differences. Through looking at how class teachers responded to pupils' needs, while support assistants were present, the unique and diverse ways of negotiating actual instances of needs for support in mainstream class were investigated. The actions and words of the participants yielded evidential detail for a sophisticated understanding of inclusive practice located in individual stances (Robson, 2011; Seale, 1999). Views and examples of practice were collected from participating teachers and assistants and systematically interpreted from a different perspective from the perspectives of official inquiries. The consequence was that different forms of inclusive practice were identified. To assess the meaning of practice according to the theoretical ground chosen for this study, an instrumental case study was carried out.

4.3. Research design

4.3.1 Instrumental case study

Previous research on support assistance in S. Korea has been conducted under the auspices of the Special Education Service, which studied education for "Pupils with disabilities in mainstream school" (Kang et al., 2015; Kang et al., 2000; Kim, 2014; M. Park, 2010). This present study adopts a new stance to look at the phenomena that may contribute to a better understanding of the provision and to a basis for change in policy and practice. The main perspective investigated was that of the class teacher who works with a support assistant in the class. In view were two main topics: 1) how support assistance was combined with the teacher's practice in responding to pupils' needs and 2) how that practice expressed the teacher's view of learning, teaching and supporting all of the pupils in the classroom. The study focused on discovering the meaning of inclusive practice in the context of the natural, day-to-day life of teaching, learning and supporting. To gain insight, it involved looking at how the teacher thought about human differences and difficulties in learning, and how she/he conceived her/his responsibility and how that thinking was manifest in action in the class (Simons, 2009).

Given the nature of the problem, a method was needed that would enable observation of the phenomena of practice and investigation of its complexity to find the factors that facilitated or constrained the practice of inclusive education. The methodological stance chosen had to focus on making sense and meaning out of particular contexts that were unique. The procedure also had to allow account to be taken of how particular practice had developed and why, in the perspective of the teacher, that particular practice was useful. To develop a more sophisticated understanding of how and why particular practices had developed and what implications there were for the development of inclusive practice in this specific research context of support assistance in S. Korea, a qualitative stance was applied to the case study. Case study seemed to meet those requirements.

Although the case study is open to a methodological approach, it is often conducted, as here, through a qualitative research approach based on constructivism. (Stake, 1995). Bergman (2008) characterises qualitative research as study in which practice is continually co-constructed by the stakeholders with the active involvement of the researcher's interpretation. For close examination of the specific phenomena of the practice of support assistant provision in all its complexity and diversity, seven non-representative cases were researched (Simons, 2009; Thomas, 2011).

To ascertain in this study how and why a specific practice had developed, it was necessary to go behind that practice to investigate the dynamics and complexity of the phenomena. The collective evidence of the details of any particular case were the basis for an explanation of the function of support assistance in the class, as assessed by the three principles of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). 'Practice', i.e., what is happening in the class - what the assistant does and how the teacher responds to pupils' needs - may be similarly described by different researchers. What is important and why in that practice, however, will vary according to the view of the researcher (Robson, 2011; Stake, 1995).

An "instrument" in a study may take different forms. The researcher may be the main instrument of research in the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Robson, 2011; Simons, 2009). A participating teacher's view could also be an instrument as it is a core part of monitoring support assistance. In other words, each teacher and assistant, as well as the researcher, could be considered to be an instrument of discovery of inclusive practice as each has a uniqueness of stance and each has a rationale to explain why that stance is meaningful (Gibbis, 2007; Matthew, Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014; Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2013). However, in this study, an instrument

serves as a resource used in the investigation to find ‘something else’, rather than as a subject to be investigated (Stake, 1995; Thomas, 2011).

In this study, how support assistant provision implemented is the instrument for identifying the practice of inclusive education in S. Korea (Lincoln & Guba, 1990). In the seven cases in mainstream primary schools, to varying degrees, each of the SEN pupils sitting in a mainstream class was supported by an assistant. Details included who was supported, what kind of needs called for assistance and what factors influenced the role of the assistant. The focus was on how the support assistance functioned in dealing with demands in the class. The ultimate aim was to identify, using the theoretical framework of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), factors aiding or inhibiting the practice of inclusive education in that particular context. For that, the work of the assistant was both an instrument revealing the teacher’s perspective and practice and a resource for identifying factors which promoted, or inhibited inclusion.

4.3.2 Generalisation and collective meaning-making

Generalisations are usually associated with a positivist research approach, i.e., are obtained from the result of the formal statistics of a survey, experimental research or systematic observation (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, 1990; Simons, 2009). That requires a certain level of control in defining samples. However, the main features of case study, particularity and singularity, are better studied to the sophisticated understanding of a specific topic than to producing a generalisation. Some assert that extending the findings of a case study to a broader population often weakens the established concept of generalisations (Simons, 2009; Stake, 1995; Thomas, 2011). Although generalisation may be neither primarily aimed at nor be achieved, that does not mean that every finding from each case study has no relevance to others. Erickson (1986) sees that the knowledge generated or acquired is collected and compared and that common features of the unique units reinforce one another in the form of ‘concrete universals’, distinct from the form of generalisation described as abstract universals. Gerring (2007) also opens the possibility of applying the results from one case to others.

The findings and conclusions of this case study may be only valid for the seven cases studied as a community, i.e. as an agreement between stakeholders (Lincoln et al., 2011). Alternatively, they may also yield insights applying to different cases in similar or different research contexts. According to Flyvbjerg (2006), ‘The detail of the reality might be used as a collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field.’ Stake (1995) explains

the concepts of uniqueness and commonality as “collective making”, because, particularisation established by in-depth understanding can build commonality as stated below.

(Stake, 1995: 101-102) ‘The understanding reached by each individual will, of course, be to some degree unique, but much will be held in common. Case study research shares the burden of clarifying descriptions and sophisticating interpretation’.

Lincoln and Guba explain that account by using the concept of applicability or transferability with an intention to apply, at least partly (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, 1990; Lincoln et al., 2011). In this research, to make a ‘vicarious experience’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1990) applicable elsewhere, every effort was made to clearly describe the process of how findings emerged and concluded (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, 1990). The details of the work of support and the levels of responsibility of the support assistants showed diversity in their roles and in the range of pupils assisted. The unique and particular findings in each case do not directly apply to any other case and similarity between cases would not in itself make cases identical. On the other hand, however, circumstances arising from support assistance for non-SEN pupils (e.g., at the request of the teacher or of a pupil directly), might indicate, by collective findings from the seven cases studied, what factors influenced the role of the support assistant. The descriptive findings from each case contributed to identifying the tendency and phenomena of the study that might aid understanding of other cases or studies. That is because interpretation is not just an ‘individual cognitive act but social and political practice’ (Schwandt, 2007). The cases in this research share the background of the educational system in S. Korea and its integration policy. More importantly, the study is infused with common values of social belief and value e.g., respecting diversity and human nature, so that it may have application in other contexts.

Moreover, although the findings of this study reveal the uniqueness of the research context, distinct in appearance from the context in which the theoretical ground was developed (U.K.), there were common findings regardless of educational context, background to the provision and legal framework. For example, regardless of entitlement to support assistance, there were demands from a range of pupils in various circumstances that required an assistant’s help. Also, the perspectives of teachers on learners, learning and supporting were unique and diverse but equally significant in determining the function of support assistance. Even though the research context was different the principles (the IPAA framework), developed in a different educational context, applied widely to explain practice in S. Korea with universal similarities in teaching, learning and supporting. The details of the cases show as much.

Readers and practitioners are invited to judge those findings or learn from them. That individual re-examination of thoughts and actions with critical insight may reach a certain level of consensus, according to the nature of knowledge from the constructivist view (Lincoln & Guba, 1990; Lincoln et al., 2011).

4.3.3 Validity and reliability of the research

In qualitative case study, due to the subjectivity involved in understanding and interpretation, validity and reliability have been controversial issues (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Gerring, 2007; Simons, 2009; Thomas, 2011). Simon (2009) urges the researcher to be aware of subjectivity and suggests monitoring oneself. The problem is not subjectivity itself but how it is applied to the study.

(Simons, 2009: 24, 83-89) 'In the conception of case study, the subjectivity of the researcher is an inevitable part of the frame. It is not seen as a problem but rather, appropriately monitored and disciplined, as essential in understanding and interpreting the case. Too much personal involvement, however, can be a problem.., (but) the subjectivity is not something we can eliminate.'

In the same vein, Stake (1995) clearly urges that, to meet the required qualitative standard, there has to be self-awareness of the limitations on the part of the (single) researcher. To reach reliable assertions, an individual looking at a particular situation has to be careful and systematic in applying theoretical grounds and research methodology through self-challenge, self-criticism and correction (Lincoln & Guba, 1990).

In determining the quality of a case study, Lincoln and Guba (1990) see 'product' as distinctive from 'process'. The quality of the product (narratives presented) is strengthened through displaying data by the researcher's own unique and, at the same time, internally substantiated and self-evident way while ensuring consistency (ibid). Borrowing those rhetorical criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1990), to ensure the quality of the case study as product in this research, the patterns of class practice were assessed by quantifying frequently appearing codes developed from the theoretical framework and matching them back to the description of the codes in order to demonstrate internal consistency and logical evidence in identifying the nature of each practice. For this, data was condensed and interpreted in dual ways and was used consistently. Each form of data was analysed several times over a period of eleven months (September 2016 - July 2017). For methodological consistency in developing and applying codes, data was analysed first by form (teacher interview, assistant interview and observation) and then in

collated cases to see the class practice as a whole. To ensure accuracy, original coding scripts were always kept because interpretation gradually developed during analysis.

Unlike Lincoln and Guba (1990), Schwandt (2007) sees credibility and truthfulness as not distinct but complementary. The validity of findings (product) may depend on the reliability of the research process since rigour in the process can contribute to ensuring the interpretation of the findings of a study. Thomas (2011) also considers “quality” as the way to validate findings from a case study and Elliott (1990) considers “the focus” of the study and asks “faithfulness” of the representation of the event as experienced by the participant. To make the process transparent, a qualitative case study requires detailed documenting of the procedures of study (Creswell, 2013a; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2014). In this study, while generating and analysing data, methodology included memos (Adler & Adler, 2009 in Bryman, 2015; Young & Florian, 2013) for critical reflection on what was done as it was done and to make the research process transparent. Memos also helped in the presenting of the findings. Memos were used to track the process of the application of the theoretical framework, particularly with regard to developing and deciding codes. Each transcribed interview script was annotated with date of completion and of first, second and final review and had a memo attached noting issues and thoughts which had emerged in the reviews. Those were used to identify the relationship between codes which frequently appeared together and so to choose valid codes. Moreover, in thematising topics for the assistant interview scripts, memos were useful in the iterative process of distributing and synthesising fragments. For example, to outline the interview topics, I wrote my reflection in the raw field work note for mapping and structuring. The use of memos as an analytical process is presented in *Appendix M*.

To strengthen methodological validity (internal validity : (Lincoln & Guba, 1986)), triangulation was applied (Simon 2009). This study used plural perspectives (teacher and assistant) and methods (observation and interview) and sought interrelation between the data and consistency between the data collected from teachers and support assistants and between observation and interview to acquire a full picture of the case. Although teachers’ individual perspectives formed the main resources of the study, assistants’ experiences and views not only clarified the data collected from observation and interviews with teachers but also gave different views on the same practice and so were helpful in filling out the whole picture. Those second perspectives also gave clues which assisted ‘critical awareness’, by clarifying any vagueness or uncertainty in contexts that the researcher had examined (Thomas, 2011).

The use of the WPR model and Inclusive Pedagogical Approach aided in systematising the process of data analysis and interpretation. The WPR model made it possible to

maintain the focus of the observation by providing three core components (preparedness, deployment and practice). The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian, 2014b; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) gave a robust theoretical ground for interpretation and, more importantly, the framework itself infused the balanced view of contradicting values, beliefs and actions with 'everybody versus some' approach. Diverse patterns of practice were reflected in that balanced view. In other words, applying the 'everybody/some approach' made it possible to fully describe the complex, and even contradictory, practice within a case through examining how each teacher conceived inclusive practice and how that understanding was expressed in the class practice of teaching and learning. It contributed to achieving fairness as authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1986).

In terms of giving a balanced view, similarities or differences which emerge among and within cases while interpreting data also strengthen the reliability of the study (Robson, 2011). "Similarity" was used to identify factors influencing the role of the support assistant and the circumstances that stretched the practice stipulated by official policy. "Differences" showed diversity in teachers' views on learning and support and pointed to an ideal use of support assistance by a unique account which ultimately justified the practice of inclusive education in different ways.

4.3.4 Defining the "case"

"Case" may be defined in several ways. Thomas (2011) sees a case as a container and situation (event). "Container" refers to the physical boundary described as 'suitcase or wrapper'. In that sense, 'case' in this research could be a classroom or a playground - wherever a lesson was held as a physical boundary. 'Situation' defines what happens at a particular moment and also includes contemporary conditions and circumstances. The situation of the study is where the mainstream class teacher teaches the pupils and the support assistant and the assisted pupil with SEN are in the classroom. Both 'container' and 'situation' can be used to visualise the case in this study.

Alternatively, considering the focus of the study, a case can be defined by the extent of the intended research. Stake, (1995) sees 'maximising what we can learn' as the main criterion in establishing the "case". More precisely, Luker (2008) sees the 'case' in relation to answering the research question as the 'logic of discovery', indicating "what it is the research is looking for". The case should articulate why it is important and how it is going to be researched. In this research, the rationale for choosing the class as the case was to

see the unique pattern of inclusive practice by reviewing and reflecting on the support assistance in each class where a pupil with SEN was in attendance.

Looking at practice at class level, “class” included the actual stakeholders in the provision, the assistant and the teacher. Any context of support naturally involved pupils. That made it possible to see how the contributing stakeholders related to one another in supporting pupils along with other factors, e.g., pupils and the physical layout of classrooms, which formed part of the support context and contributed to the full picture. The case unit for study, therefore, was the class.

More importantly, “class” reflected the setting of the theoretical framework of the study, the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b). The examination of practice considered everyone in the class while focusing on the teacher’s view and practice in line with three core principles which had implication for the development of inclusive practice through systematic reflection on that practice. Neither class teacher nor support assistant was solely responsible for a particular class practice. For example, the work of two assistants might be similar but the meaning and function in their classes might be different. Where a support assistant helped solely the SEN pupil throughout the lesson, it would not be a sufficient explanation that the assistant was adhering to official policy. Instead, from the point of view of this research (looking at practice as the functioning of the class), subsequent questions would arise. When, where and how does the assistant help that pupil? Are any other pupils helped? Is the class teacher involved in that situation? Why or why not? How does the teacher see that practice? The class as the case unit is relevant for investigation and analysis in this research because this research aims to see diversity and complexity in the use of support assistance in each class, not just the work of the assistant.

To capture the diversity of practice of inclusive education, this research took the form of a collective case study involving seven separate cases. “Collective case study” is taken to mean not a collection of case studies but a study of several cases for the better understating of a particular phenomenon: (Gerring, 2007: 19) ‘While a case study is always singular, a case study work or research design often refers to a study that includes several cases’. The aim was not to directly compare the cases by focusing on evidence of recurring conditions but to discern ‘the multiple realities’ from diverse perspectives of ‘what was happening’ (Bryman, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1990; Stake, 1995) and so to enrich the understanding of inclusive practice (Savin-Baden, & Major, 2012).

To meet the standard adopted, the two quantifying conditions for a class “case” were: 1) that it was a mainstream class in a state school in which an SEN pupil was in

attendance and, 2) that a support assistant was regularly present in the class. The case was first outlined according to the precise focus of the research but, due to limitation of access and time (Stake, 1995), circumstances influenced the decision as to the ultimate choice of cases. Initially, the view of the individual class teacher was considered as a potential variable affecting the function of the support assistance. To allow for possible differences between case classes (teacher and assistant respectively) under the same school leadership, the number of schools to be included was to be three schools with two cases each. Research flyers were given to the school management team (usually to Deputy Teachers) who would have to consent to the data collection. However, that top-down approach did not work. Class observation is not a usual research method of study in S. Korea so the reluctance to participate was not surprising. Even though access to school was permitted, no teacher was willing to take part in the research. To identify case classes, a bottom-up approach was then tried, under which the proposal was advertised to prospective teachers who were then screened for the feasibility of access to their schools. Professional acquaintances contacted individual teachers in person. An essential preliminary was clarifying the purpose of the data collection (looking at support assistance and investigating the teacher's view of it) and not evaluating or intervening with the teacher's practice.

As a result of the negotiations for access, of each school's circumstances and of the relatively short time granted for the study, the scope of the availability was limited to seven classes from five primary schools.

4.4. Analytical tools

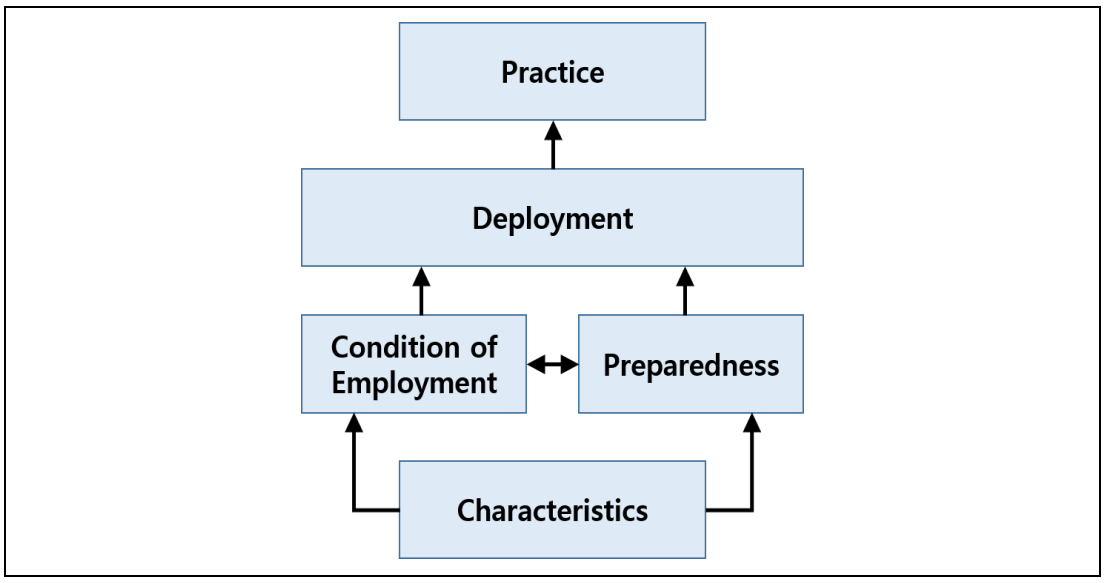
To answer the research questions, the research subject and associated concepts were logically structured as a framework (Robson, 2011). Because this present research was to be qualitative and to involve case study, an analytical frame was chosen to merge, develop and thicken the research processes (Lincoln & Guba, 1990; Thomas, 2011). For systematic observation and subsequent data generation before interpretation, the WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Webster et al., 2011) was used as a guideline. A theoretical framework, the IPAA (Inclusive Educational Approach in Action) framework was used throughout the process of data analysis and interpretation of the collected data

(Florian, 2014b). The use of the framework, particularly its third principle of 'Working with others' in previous research and its application to this study is described in 4.4.2. Tool (2).

4.4.1. Tool (1): The Wider Pedagogical Role model

The Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model has been widely and effectively used in a range of research studies to analyse the effectiveness of support assistants and to identify positive changes in practice (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012; Cockroft & Atkinson, 2015; Giangreco, 2010; Webster et al., 2011, 2013). Initially, it was developed to interpret the findings of the DISS project (2003-2008) in the U.K. and to ascertain the critical facets of the work of Teaching Assistants (TAs) and the effects of their support (Blatchford et al., 2012; Webster et al., 2011). The five inter-related components identified were characteristics, conditions of employment, preparedness, deployment, and practice. A refined model was used for reconceptualising the work (Blatchford et al., 2012).

(Figure 4-1) The Wider Pedagogical Role model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012)



'Characteristics' gives information about the number of support staff in a school, support staff roles and responsibilities, gender, age, ethnicity, and the qualifications and experience of assistants. In the DISS research, 'support staff' included not only academic support assistants but also pupil welfare staff, technicians, administrative staff, etc. 'Conditions of employment' includes job satisfaction, pay and contracts, supervision and

appraisal, working hours and ‘goodwill’. ‘Preparedness’ is about how teachers manage and organise the work of support assistants, how assistants are trained to support learning, day-to-day preparation regarding joint planning and preparation and, finally, feedback between teachers and their assistants before and after lessons. ‘Deployment’, a core feature of the DISS research, gives practical information about how support assistants are used and what their everyday role is. ‘Practice’ is about the interaction between assistants and pupils and between teachers and pupils (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012).

The WPR model has the flexibility to adapt to unique research contexts with their own subjects, purposes, and processes with modification (Robson, 2011). It lends itself to development and amendment for wider use. In the DISS research, due to the different research purposes, all five components were used to look at the employment and impact of support staff whereas, in the EDTA research, three core components of the WPR model (preparation, deployment and practice) were chosen as focus points. For example, the DISS aimed to describe, without intervention, the characteristics of support staff and their impact on pupils’ learning, while the EDTA project called for change throughout the school year (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Webster et al., 2011, 2013). Regarding data collection methods, the DISS project used both qualitative and quantitative methods such as surveys, structured observation and case studies, while EDTA used an amended version of the DISS data collection, not involving surveys. Cockroft & Atkinson (2015) used the WPR model as a deductive framework for conducting case studies. The defining of research subjects has also differed between studies. The DISS research was primarily based on the perspective of teachers. In the EDTA project, on the other hand, collaborative work involving school staff and researchers was implemented. In Cockroft & Atkinson (2015), the WPR model was used to give a voice to support staff.

The flexible adaption of the model may contribute to consolidating the validity and reliability of the framework and may have positive implications for its application to other cultural contexts, as in this present research. As an example, Giangreco (2010) analysed the result of the DISS project, which had used the WPR model in a different educational context, to process data collected in US schools.

The researcher in case study is expected to substantiate situations or events through interpretation, so it is not unusual that a research flow is redirected (Stake, 1995). This study was designed to examine the details of a limited number of cases. Because the purpose and process of this study were concerned with identifying the circumstances and conditions that determined in what ways support assistance functioned inclusively or exclusively in the context of learning and teaching, ‘characteristics’ and ‘conditions of employment’ seemed not to be significant factors. It sought, rather, to elicit the perspective

and reasoning of the teachers and assistants involved. In order to gain an understanding of each assistant's work and of each participant's view on that work, data was collected and collated through three core components, preparedness, deployment, and practice, with slight modification. The modified WPR model was used as the framework for the collection of data, particularly for class observation, and for collating data to extract support contexts.

(Table 4.1) Modified WPR model and topics covered

Feature/Method	Topic	Explanation
Preparedness/ Observation, Induction meeting and Interview	The teacher's view of the work of the assistant	Attitude and mind-set towards support assistance
	Practical preparedness	Training and professional development Day-to-day preparation (Planning, preparation, and feedback)
Deployment/ Observation and Interview	General activities of assistant	Range of activities directly or indirectly supported by assistant
	Diversity of classroom contexts for support provided by assistant	One-to-one/ Small group (2-5 pupils)/ Medium group (6-10)/ Large group (11+)/ Roving the classroom/ Leading the whole class
	Range of pupils supported by assistant	SEN pupils with Statements or without Statements/ Low attaining pupils/ Others
Practice/ Observation and Interview	Interaction between teacher and assistant, pupils and assistant, teacher and pupils	Context of interaction in which support arises/continues/finishes

The modification of the framework was carried out as follows: under "Preparedness", "view on support assistance", covering attitude and mind-set regarding support assistance, was added to "practical preparation for work between assistant and teacher" in the original model. "Deployment" was kept as in the original. It gives an actual description of what a support assistant does and who is involved at any one moment. It also covers the pattern or routine of their role. Another modification, under "Practice" which aimed in the original WPR model to analyse and compare the interaction between pupils and support assistants and between pupils and teachers, was the addition of the interaction between assistants and teacher. That was because, whereas the DISS and EDTA projects aimed

to identify the impact of TA assistance on academic progress, the subject of data collection in this study was the use of support assistance during lessons, and ultimately, how teachers and assistants responded to the needs of all of the pupils in the class. The modified framework is shown above.

4.4.2. Tool (2): The use of IPAA framework

The comprehensive reference of the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b) makes it possible to study the contemporary practice of support assistant provision in S. Korea more systematically. The subject of the research, "working with and through others" is interpreted in this study, not solely through the phenomena of teachers' work with assistants but also through teachers' perceptions of difference and difficulties (Principle 1) and their acceptance of responsibility for pupils (Principle 2). Each participant teacher's view on learning, teaching and supporting and the observed practice of a range of forms of support assistance were analysed against the standard of 'Inclusive Pedagogy'. The three principles of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) and the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b) provided the focus of the research and guidelines of interpretation for data analysis.

The IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b) was motivated by a call in previous research, (Göransson & Nilholm, 2014), to define 'the operative meaning of inclusion in reviews and empirical research'. Considering that inclusive education pursues the participation and engagement of all pupils without marginalising any, empirical evidence on whether inclusion is being achieved would be salient. The IPAA framework was a trial application of the principles of inclusive pedagogy to 'make it happen' in the classroom (Florian, 2014b). It is in four parts, viz. 1) Assumptions, 2) Associated Concepts or Actions, 3) Key challenges and 4) Evidence. 'Assumptions' explains the main principles of inclusive pedagogy. 'Associated concepts/Actions' covers the more detailed ideas and actions which constitute the assumptions. 'Key challenges' deals with beliefs and actions that hinder the practice of inclusion and are problematic but prevalent. 'Evidence' is more elaborated details of how teachers see the learners, of how to include them (or do not), and how they work with others as members of a community interacting with each other in the context of learning, teaching and supporting in class. It shows the interrelation between thinking, knowledge and, actions and provides a viewpoint for self-reflection by teachers whether their practice might have to change to become more inclusive. Actual working knowledge of experienced teachers committed to inclusive education was

employed to encourage teachers to shift their perspective on learners based on a clear understanding of how to respect diversity (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011).

The framework was used to study the practice of newly qualified teachers in a Scottish educational context (Florian & Spratt, 2013). For novice teachers, the framework was drawn and used to measure their inclusive practice in order to see to what extent the three principles are being applied (ibid). For continuing professional development for experienced teachers (class teachers and additional support needs teachers), the framework provides a reference against which to measure their practice so that they could work in partnership from a new standpoint (Florian & Spratt, 2014). Robust empirical evidence was collected and disseminated to bridge the gap between the theoretical ground and the actual enactment.

Under the third principle, 'the profession must continually develop creative new ways of working with others', one novice teacher justified her alternative approach (driven not by ability level but by providing choices to pupils) to her colleagues, her head teacher and other staff (Florian & Spratt, 2013). For an experienced teacher, "working with others" was directly and immediately relevant. For example, a class teacher in an environment in which exclusion and marginalisation were prevalent, who considered himself/herself to be struggling to implement inclusive pedagogy, improved the practice in working with the Additional Support Teacher (Florian & Spratt, 2014). A support teacher led a whole class to benefit of all of the pupils, instead of working with a small group out of class, while the class teacher took over the additional support teacher's work with pupils having difficulties (ibid). Here, responsibility for the pupils displaying behavioural challenges which had lain with the additional support teacher, was shared to help the class teacher to understand and be able to respond to those difficulties.

The framework gives clear direction as to what inclusive practice looks like and what are the identified challenges to implementation. For this study in S. Korea, the framework was used to interpret the various forms of "working with others" and thereby to discern in what ways a class practice was inclusive or not. For this process, the code lists were developed under the IPAA framework and were elaborated through analysis of seven participant teachers' thinking and actions. The framework was used to identify not only a teacher's views but also the pattern of class practice together with the assistant's work and pupils' responses to support from teacher or assistant.

How to work in partnership and how partnership can best promote pupils' learning and growth may have implication for more than just what kind of help a support assistant can

provide. What those are will vary according to the research context because, even where the class teacher is key in deciding the direction of what the support assistant is to do and how (Warhurst et al., 2014), the perceived impact of support on the pupils' learning and lives will vary depending on the relationship between teacher and assistant and class circumstances.

Using the original framework and applying its three main principles set a high standard of practice of inclusive education. Practice was not explained by a linear relationship but appeared to be far more complex. For instance, although one teacher was strongly against having SEN pupils in mainstream school and doubted the learning potential of those pupils, that same teacher clearly recognised the importance of every pupil's participation and constantly developed his own strategies to encourage all of the pupils to take part in lesson. The framework was effective both as a theoretical ground and as a systematic tool to explain the ways in which complex phenomena, the various forms of practice revealed in the study, were inclusive or not. *Appendix B* presents the IPAA framework.

4.5. Methods for data collection

In case study, the choice of method (how to collect and analyse the data) is not defined but flexible (Simons, 2009). The interpretive approach still uses naturalistic methods of interviewing and observation (Lincoln et al., 2011). The subject of data collection was the work of the support assistant in the class while the teacher was teaching a lesson. Data was gathered in three forms: 1) class observation, 2) teacher interviews (induction and final) and 3) assistant interviews. Class observation was necessary to collect details of what happened in the class and, more precisely, how the stakeholders acted and how they interacted with each other. Before an observation, an induction meeting was conducted with each teacher and assistant to introduce the researcher (myself), the research aim and the process of data collection and to confirm consent for access to the school and access to the class.

Applying the two different data collection methods was not solely for methodological triangulation. Each interview and observation was seen as yielding a unique account of perspective, as a 'particular kind of transaction and engagement with the world' (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003). In this research, there was no problematic discrepancy in the data

between the observation and interview. Each had its own advantages. For example, due to the lack of autonomy of support assistants in a class, an interview was salient in obtaining information from them. On the other hand, in two cases in which the participant teacher found difficulty in articulating the rationale for his/her practice, observed actions were even more salient.

Observation focused on the assistant's work and interaction with teacher and pupils. Data from the observation notes and the induction meeting generated main interview topics concerning the rationale for the practice observed. The interviews dealt with how support assistance was seen or understood in the context of each class and what, from each teacher's point of view, would be ideal practice. Support assistants were included as participants to add detail to the descriptions of their work and for data triangulation.

4.5.1 Method (1): Class observation

Observation in this study was conducted to obtain information about how support assistance was being used in the teaching and learning context of the class in a natural setting. Although 'observer effect' is often mentioned as a concern, direct observation is still considered to be a powerful method for capturing a segment of natural flow of interaction between the members of the class (Robson, 2011). Observation is a particularly useful method of data collection for case study because it affords a close look at the details of a sequence of the event, how the support is provided in what context and what the consequences are (Simons, 2009). Regarding the positioning of the observer, unlike some (Creswell, 2013b; Simons, 2009), Robson (2011) considers the status of the observer to be that of recognised participant rather than non-participant even though not involved in any activity. In this study, although I did not intervene in any activities and kept a distance to avoid having an influence, the teachers' approaches to the presence of an observer varied. Some teachers introduced the researcher, others did not. I was introduced variously as researcher, special education expert or student. For various reasons, in three classes, I was not introduced. In relation to this study, Robson's view seemed to apply.

The first reason why observation without researcher involvement was chosen was that it was an innovative method in the research context of inclusive education in S. Korea. Even though observation is a primary method of inquiry of 'empirical endeavour' (Gerring, 2007) the trend for research in this field has been survey based on a positivist view (Bae, 2011; Choi, 2009; Choi & Lee, 2009; Lee & Kim, 2012; Oh, 2007; Park, Woo, Kim, Kim &

Han, 2015; Yoon & Woo, 2007). Qualitative research has been conducted but the main method adapted has been interview (Jeong, 2013; Kang & Lee, 2006; Shin, Na, & Cho, 2005). Class observation was used in research conducted by Kang and Lee (2006) but it was participatory, focusing on the disabled pupils while considering as external the class teachers who evaluated the effectiveness of the provision. This present study, however, saw the use of support assistance in the natural setting of lessons to catch diverse patterns of practice. Observation without observer's involvement in the activity was essential. It made it possible to find out what kind of needs arose and how those were responded to in the whole class context which had not received attention in previous research (Stake, 1995).

Secondly, observation gives holistic information. To see how support functioned in a class context, I made an effort to strike a balance between the details of support assistance and the whole picture of the situation. That provided a stance for understanding both the nature of support assistance and the function of assistance in the class overall (Stake, 1995). The details of each event and the wholeness of the flow of the lesson were not compromised. The form of the observation sheet reflected that by including contextual information (Hamilton, & Corbett-Whittier, 2013) as below.

The sheet for those observations was divided into an information section and main activity. In the information section, general details of date, time, class, teacher, assistant and subject were written. In most observations, I had access to the classroom (and other locations) beforehand so that there was opportunity for a brief conversation with the teacher, and sometimes with the assistant, about the main activity of each lesson. As part of the focused observation, attention was given to how teacher, assistant and pupils provided and received support within the flow of the lesson (Spradley, 1980). To understand the rationale for actions observed, the focus was on the sequence and consequence of actions recorded in the main section of the observation note. "The movement of teacher and pupil(s)" in the left-hand column showed the flow of the class as a whole and significant moments at which the teacher provided support or initiated interaction with pupils, including those with SEN, or with the support assistant. The "Support assistant and pupils" section, the right-hand column, followed what the support assistant did. It noted who was supported by her/him and how that individual episode of support began, continued and ended. When the data was analysed, having the two parts was useful by showing the sequence of movement (the walk-line) of the teacher, assistant and pupils throughout the period observed. Of the twenty-one observations, the first two observations were recorded without those sub-divisions (right and left column) but, after

a typical picture of the assistance had been obtained, the sheet was amended to yield a more fluent record. The form of observation note is presented in *Appendix K*.

Time was often noted as it was useful to see the flow of class activity and to measure certain periods such as those of direct support, those during which a pupil was unsupported and periods of interaction. Sometimes a simple drawing was an effective way of capturing circumstances and situations such as a change of classroom layout, the location and movement of pupils, teacher, and assistant, scenes of interaction or the layout of an activity or game. Examples are presented in *Appendix N.* It was particularly useful for places outwith the classroom such as the school playing field (for P.E.), the gym (also P.E.) or the science lab, because some activities are more easily described by pictures than by words. Abbreviations were also used for speed of recording. I noted any instances in which I was unable to discern the rationale for the action and clarified those later by questions at the end of the lesson.

Thirdly, the observations gave me opportunities to reflect on my own prejudices as a researcher and to amend the scope of the study. Even though, because I had worked as a Special Class Teacher, I had some preconception that support assistance would be used in various ways my focus had always been on the how the SEN pupil was supported in mainstream class. When looking at class practice in terms of the needs of all pupils and the availability of support, my narrow attention to the SEN pupil was challenged and my experience as a support assistant in a Scottish school came to mind. Observation yielded evidence that pupils' needs were diverse and the ways of responding to those needs had to be equally so.

During observations, I kept notes of the modified WPR model (included in the sheet) and of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach beside the observation note sheets to remind me of the guidelines and to maintain the focus of the research. That was helpful in the selection of events and moments as data (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010; Matthew et al., 2014).

The facets of the modified WPR model, preparedness, deployment and practice, were key to the focus of the observation (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012).

'Preparedness' covered day-to-day preparation before and after the lesson.

'Deployment' covered which pupils were supported, how support was initiated, maintained and concluded, how decisions were made (on an assistant's own initiative or by joint decision of teacher and assistant or as assigned by teacher), what kind of support was provided and how that support was different from or similar to support provided by the teacher.

‘Practice’ covered how the teacher and assistant communicated in what situations and how the assistant and pupils (including pupils with statements and pupils without) interacted.

Those details were collected and collated to form a complete picture of class practice. The nature of the support observed was identified and notes collated as a selection (Spradley, 1980), 1) to allow a view of the spectrum of work and of the factors apparently influencing the role of the support assistant, 2) to see in what ways practice conformed or did not conform with official policy and, more fundamentally, 3) to ascertain the impact, influence or meaning of that support for the class community as a whole with reference to the theoretical framework. After each observation, while reflecting on it, relevant fragments were selected for explanation by teachers and assistants, with their own perspectives, at interview (Robson, 2011).

In case study, the ‘shared experiential perspective’ applies, whereby the account is negotiated between observer and participants (Elliot, 1990; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Hamilton, & Corbett-Whittier, 2013). Data obtained from the observation could show what was actually happening. On the other hand, like interview, observation could be understood as an account by each teacher and assistant, as each made choices of action, including moving, speaking and responding to each other (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003). I also had to be aware how I recorded and described it. How an event is described will inevitably be influenced by the attention of the observer according to the perspective on what is considered important (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003). To eliminate possible misunderstanding, after most observations, there were opportunities to raise points for clarification or confirmation. Post-observation was also a good moment to schedule interviews and simply to form a rapport between researcher and participants.

Each of the seven classes was observed three times over a four week period in May and June 2016 to capture the patterns of practice. A S. Korean mainstream primary school usually has one support assistant (but sometimes has two), and the amount of support assistance given to each SEN pupil varied, between 1 and 16 hours a week. The time spent by SEN pupils in mainstream class also varies according to the level of need of the SEN pupil, the subject and the preference of the mainstream class teacher. The Special Class Teacher (who runs a separate class for pupils with statements) had to consider those factors and set up a timetable for the level (amount of time) of assistant provision for each pupil with SEN while attending mainstream class.

Twenty-one units in total were observed, comprising three units from each of seven classes. Each unit lasted 40 minutes and the usual pattern was induction, activity and

closing. Details are as below, in Table 4.2. Most units (17 of 21) covered classes in which an assistant was present in the classroom. Occasionally, due to a change in an assistant's schedule and the small amount of support assistance (1hour per week) in that class, a teacher had to work without an assistant. In the case of the P6 class in Yewon primary school below, I had no opportunity to observe the work of the assistant in the class, so in the support assistant interview and teacher interview, I sought accounts of the work of the support assistant (which were consistent). Occasionally, by prior agreement, I took photos to remind myself of scenes observed.

On the observation sheet and throughout the data analysis, I identified each pupil with SEN by a random initial and other pupils simply as boys or girls. Although my theoretical perspective rejected any distinction between pupils according to the Statement of Needs, official policy stipulated that support provision was exclusively for SEN-entitled pupils. I used different terms for pupils (SEN and non-SEN) deliberately in order both to show more clearly whether and in what ways patterns in practice adhered to that policy or were applied flexibly and to discern the range of pupils supported by teacher and/or assistant.

The five participant schools were all state schools belonging to the Seoul Local Education Authority. Each, however, had slightly different characteristics. Dawon and Yewon primary schools were large, with 900-1100 pupils, the majority from a working class background. Those schools were located in housing complex areas so the average number of each class (over 25) was above the Seoul average of 23 (Korean Educational Statistics Service, 2017). Koron and Nalma primary schools were of medium size, with 500-600 pupils. Kawie primary was a small school with only around 250 pupils, the majority from a middle class background. The average number in a class there was only 15, much lower than other schools because of an urban redevelopment project nearby. There had been a dramatic decrease in the number of pupils in that school over the previous years. There were two assistants in that school, one employed by the private sector (by the parents of an SEN pupil) and the other by the local governing body. Those types of employment were not identified in any other participating schools. The other four schools had assistants employed by the public sector, the Local Education Authority and Ministry of National Defence.

Apart from Kawie primary school, the each of the four schools had two special classes for SEN pupils, one for the lower grades and the other for the upper grades. Kawie primary school had only one special class due to the small number of pupils with SEN. By regulation, a special class in a mainstream primary school can accommodate a maximum of six pupils (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012). *Appendix* L presents information about the case schools, classes, teachers and assistants.

(Table 4.2) Observation context

School.	Class/ Case no	Hours of assistance (per week).	No. of observations (/with assistant).	Other professional Involved.	Subject of classroom Observation.
Dawon Primary	P1 Case 7	7	3/3	N/A	PE, CS (Family)*, ECA**
Koron Primary	P6 Case 5	2-3	3/3	Native-speaking teacher	English
Yewon Primary	P4 Case 4	2	3/3	Sports Teacher	P.E.
	P6 Case 6	1	3/0	N/A	Social Studies, Maths, Art.
Kawie Primary	P6 Case 2	16	3/3	N/A	Science, Art
	P4 Case 3	14	3/3	N/A	PE, Music, Art
Nalma Primary	P5 Case 1	2	3/3	N/A	PE

* CS: Combined Studies include 'Family, Neighbour, Seasons in Korea, etc.'
** ECA: Extra Curricular Activities includes Subject ECA and Creative ECA

As seen the table above, not only the support assistant, but also other professionals, a native-speaking English teacher and a Sports Teacher, were also involved in the lessons. Observations were carried out at diverse places depending on the subject and the activities, e.g., for Gym the Gym hall and playground, for English the English resources room and for Science the Science lab.

4.5.2. Method (2): Semi-structured interview

In this study, interview and observation were distinctive and complementary. Two interviews (including induction meetings) were conducted with each of the seven teachers and the six assistants. The induction meetings were used to confirm access, to explain the research context and process in more detail and to schedule the observation and interview.

In case study, to get a close look at the details of the specific topic, in-depth and open-ended interview is widely used (Robson, 2011; Simons, 2009). Based on the social constructivist view, each participant's rationales helped me to understand the observed scene from the interviewee's point of view, which ultimately identified unique and multiple realities of inclusive practice. Teachers were invited to think about and explain the reality

of inclusive education while making sense of the actual situations faced as a mainstream class teacher in accordance with the interviewer's theoretical perspective. That encompassed their understanding of differences and difficulties, of their responsibilities in teaching and of support. In the meanwhile, the deeper meaning of actions observed emerged from the explanation of the interviewee's underlying motivation (Robson, 2011). The concept of 'everybody' (interviewer's choice of theoretical stance) was not accepted by some teachers who considered the SEN pupil to be a recipient of special education. Other teachers found themselves in accord with the researcher's stance in their thinking and practice. Others felt confused or challenged while reflecting on their own practice, for various reasons. The responses revealed to what extent the theoretical choice of the 'everybody' approach worked or could be located in diverse contexts in each account (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Seidman, 2013; Silverman, 2011). Thus, data were "co-authored" rather than merely collected (Matthew et al., 2014).

Interview questions were generated from the notes of observations and before and after observations (including the induction meeting). Apparently significant moments were extracted to explore individual views along with a sequence of themes covering the three principles of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian, 2014b; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). Although there were set topics, instead of answering a detailed sequence of questions prepared beforehand for structured interview, interviewees were encouraged to maintain a natural flow of conversation. The prepared questions were used as a guideline, but did not limit the range of topics. The interviews were, accordingly, semi-structured. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe semi-structured.

> (Kvale, 2007: 51; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:124) The semi structured life world interview seeks to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena: it will have a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as some suggested questions. Yet at the same time there is openness to change of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the specific answers given and the stories told by the subjects.

I had the interview questionnaire prepared beforehand but rarely referred to it as most questions had already been memorised. Also the flow of the interview was more idiosyncratic. Some conversations flowed more easily than others. Since school is generally a busy place, I tried to show my empathy and appreciation through attentive listening and conventional gestures to build a rapport and to make the interviewee feel comfortable (Kvale, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The tone was not of interrogation but of learning from the interviewer's views and experiences. Prompts maintained the flow,

e.g., “That sounds really interesting, I would like to learn more about it, can you please explain more about it?”

As an interview progressed, I had to continually reflect on the usefulness of the information and its relevance to the research questions while leading the conversation so as to elicit responses which would provide an in-depth understanding of topics (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Roulston, 2010; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Seidman, 2013). Kvale (2007) illustrates the distinct, and compromising, roles of an interviewer, as ‘miner and traveller’ (2007: 19-20). Those metaphors refer to the aspects of a) digging into the interviewer’s experience and perception for ore and nuggets and b) keeping on track and getting to the point.

An interview is a form of professional interaction structured by the researcher (Kvale, 2007). Therefore, I had to recognise the bias that I had (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Schostak, 2005). Realising that, I made efforts throughout the interviews to accept as significant whatever an interviewee’s view was and to engage in conversation to uncover thoughts and feelings that might not reveal themselves in observation (Simons, 2009). The interviewee’s rationale for the observed practice sometimes challenged my own bias (Schostak, 2005). Taking account of that, I made an effort not to jump to conclusions as the apparent and actual rationales for scenes captured in the observation were not always consistent.

For example, while one teacher kept trying to include all of the pupils fully in a lesson, that teacher at interview strongly opposed inclusive education and considered “special school” to be the right place for SEN pupils. At the same time, however, the interview also revealed that the teacher understood the diverse needs of pupils and saw the flexible use of support assistance as beneficial for everyone. That was initially confusing. Questions arose; “Why, if he does not recognise the SEN pupil’s potential to learn, does he keep encouraging that pupil to take part in the lesson?” and “Does he actually respect that pupil’s capacity?” It was hard to get a consistent picture of whether that teacher’s practice was inclusive or not. Although the research aim was to see in what ways the practice was inclusive or exclusive, I found myself wanting to simplify the case and to make it consistent. The solution seemed to be to remind myself that interview and observation together show a unique social action (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003). Rather than simply labelling that case as showing inconsistency between word and action, the contradictions within it marked it as one, unique, instance of implementation of inclusive practice entailing a rich complexity.

Another instance emerged during an induction meeting, when a teacher exhibited a sceptical attitude towards working with the support assistant and any other special

education services provided. As I reflected on my working experience in S. Korea, I could see that she felt it a burden to have an assistant (or a particular assistant) in her class. However, the rationale for her attitude was quite different from what I had assumed. That teacher doubted the usefulness of support assistance in the mainstream class. In practice, she herself took teaching responsibility for all of the pupils in the classroom, including the SEN pupil.

While accommodating what interviewees said, I used 'elaboration' and 'evidence probes' for interviewers to reflect on their thinking and actions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In other words, interview questions sometimes gave an opportunity for the interviewee to reflect on choices made in terms of how they came to those conclusions and on assumptions and things taken for granted. Such questions included: "Why do you find it difficult to discuss lessons with the support assistant?" and "What roles would you expect the assistant to take in class? Four participating teachers realised that they had not thought about those issues as they took for granted not building a partnership with their assistants. At the same time, the conflict between teachers' expectations and their way of implementing support assistant provision naturally came to light. It also emerged that those teachers would have liked a more active partnership with their support assistants if officially permitted so to do. Other teachers were more reserved as they considered the work of the support assistant to be entirely distinct from theirs and partnership therefore unnecessary. Although all the cases observed were consistent in showing no active discussion or interaction, reflection at interview showed differing inclinations.

The number and the length of interviews depends on the research context and there are no specific rules (Silverman 2013). However, as Robson (2011) recommends, each session was scheduled to run for between 30 and 60 minutes. A few ran beyond 60 minutes due to the participants' willingness to talk. Induction meetings were not recorded but noted. The main interviews were recorded as audio files (after consent to record had been obtained) for subsequent analysis.

In research, place and time for interview is scheduled, ideally, by both interviewer and interviewee for a setting where privacy is guaranteed although that is not always achievable (Roulston, 2010). In this study, most participant teachers had their own classrooms, so those classrooms, without pupils, were convenient for interview. They were usually quiet and free from distractions. Occasionally, however, an interview had to stop and restart because the telephone rang or someone knocked on the door. One teacher wanted to have the interview at home as she was a subject teacher without her own room in school and preferred a relaxed private place. Assistants did not have their own rooms and did not use staff rooms and so I usually asked them for their preference

as to place. The places chosen were various: spectators' seats in the school field, a bench in a school garden, a resource room, etc. Two support assistants had no free time at all during school hours and felt uncomfortable about interview in the school. By their choice, their interviews were held at the local café and a train station lounge. Those places were public so there were unexpected distractions when I had to repeat questions or rephrase what the interviewee had said to keep the conversation running.

At the end of each interview, photo elicitation was carried out as a 'stimulus' of the interview (Bryman, 2015; Törrönen, 2002). Two photos were taken at the school where the pilot study was conducted (with consent and without identifying children). One showed a support assistant working with one pupil while the teacher worked with the other pupils (implying support provision limited to a particular pupil) while the other showed support assistants working with various groups along with the teacher (implying support available to all). Without prompts, each teacher and assistant was asked to describe them and the differences or similarities between the two. Following the interviewees' descriptions of each photo, they were asked which style they would like to see in their practice and why. Those answers indicated how, regardless of official policy, the interviewee conceived the role of the assistant in terms of the range of pupils assisted and the preferred function of the assistance. It was useful to understand how each interviewee saw and interpreted the situations and how each reflected on his/her own situation when comparing it with them (Bryman, 2015; Edwards & Holland, 2013). The interpretation often revealed the individual's view of current practice and ideal practice regarding the use of support assistance.

I asked for further co-operation and maintained contact (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). After the interviews, the audio files were transcribed and cross-checked by the participants. To ensure correspondence between the researcher's transcription and a teacher's or assistant's statements and views, the transcriptions were checked by the interviewees and, where necessary, follow-up questions clarified uncertain points or added detail (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). For example, I became aware that more detail was required to give a fuller picture of forms of support assistance in mainstream classes which contrasted with official policy but had possible implications for the theoretical perspective. One of the assistants interviewed was widely respected by school staff, had worked with over 70 mainstream class teachers over her 5 years in her school and was supportive of this research and happy to share more about her experiences. An e-mail follow-up with her was conducted in February 2017.

4.5.2.1. The process of the teacher interview

Each interview began with questions about pupils and the class (the class rules, the system of grouping, classroom layout, etc.), whether the observed class was similar to or different from the usual class and, if so, how. Before specific and sensitive questions, general and simple questions were asked to give a smooth start to the conversation (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The core part of each interview was making sense of the individual teacher's rationale for their practice involving the support assistant.

Each participant teacher's interpretation was explored along with the stated rationale and their way of communicating and making decisions. Incidents from and aspects of practice as observed were brought up and comment invited. The order and type of questions varied according to the flow of each interview. Generally, flow and order were as explained below.

Before the start of the interview, the interviewee was reminded of her/his right not to answer any questions and to terminate the interview at any time. I then explained the flow of the interview. I asked the interviewee to explain the class in general. Most of the teachers were experienced so could easily describe the pupils and compare them with other pupils that they had taught. I then gave some examples of class rules and the layout of the classroom (from observation) and asked the teacher to explain, for example, how class duties and seats were decided and how the activity groups were organised.

The questions then took examples of class observation associated with the three principles of Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). Regarding the first principle, 'Dealing with difference', the questions were about how the teacher conceived differences and similarities among pupils and how the teacher responded to those differences or similarities in running the class and in planning and teaching lessons. Some teachers thought they were responsible for every pupil's learning potential and explained what they had been doing for that, e.g., giving individual learning feedback after school hours, giving additional materials during lessons or using peer support. Others thought that it was their responsibility but that there was no time and space to deal with that degree of difference, so did not do much. That naturally led to the second principle, 'Teacher's self-belief'. I used examples of strategies that the teacher had used in the lessons. For example, one teacher kept changing game rules to encourage everyone to participate in an activity. I asked how each strategy was devised and developed. That conversation naturally led to learning and participation by the pupil with SEN. Where the teacher did not use any specific teaching or learning strategies to include the pupil with

SEN, I asked questions differently, e.g., What would be the same and what would be different if the pupil with SEN was not in the class? Teachers explained whether or not they made efforts to include the SEN pupil and, if so in what ways. Before moving to the third principle, I asked whether the teacher would need support or advice to teach the pupil with SEN and, if so, what kind of support or advice and from where they might be sought. Diverse replies from the teachers revealed how lessons were prepared for the SEN pupil and who was in charge of that pupil. Some teachers considered that they themselves carried responsibility, others not. There was diversity and some uncertainty regarding the conceptions of SEN pupils' learning needs and from whom to seek help. That naturally led on to 'Working with others'. If the teacher mentioned parents or other colleagues rather than the support assistant, the rationale for that answer was sought, as well as the rationale for not including the support assistant or Special Class Teacher. The teacher's view of support assistance was explored as a connected topic:

1) Whether support assistance was helpful and why; 2) How the work of the support assistant was decided; 3) How they communicated with each other: 4) What the similarities and differences were between the presence and absence of the support assistant and 5) How the teacher wanted the class pupils to view the assistant's presence and availability to give help. In addition, 6) What kind of support the teachers had expected before they took their classes and 7) What their ideal form of support assistance would be if they had the authority to change it were asked.

I also asked what kind of courses the teachers would consider if they were to plan an in-service programme for the support assistant and what the assistant's presence and support meant for the class community as a whole. At the end of each interview, the 'two photos' elicitation was carried out as explained above. The main structure of the teacher interview is in *Appendix I*.

As is apparent, the characteristics of participant teachers were diverse in terms of gender, the year of the class taught and the length of experience of mainstream class teaching. The information about the participant teachers is in *Appendix L*.

4.5.2.2. The process of the assistant interview

To validate the teacher interviews and to complete the picture of the class practice, I interviewed the assistants. Because the assistants work closely with pupils, understand their needs and often stand up for them, a range of lively examples of support assistance were described. As with teachers, the purpose and process of the data collection were

introduced at the start and consent was obtained. Information about the participating support assistants is given *Appendix L*. The assistants' qualifications varied and four out of the six had qualifications in childcare or social care. Ms. Choi in Case 5 and Ms. Lee in Case 6 had been working since 2005, just after support assistant provision was officially initiated in 2004.

The induction meetings with support assistants were briefer and more informal than those with teachers. Some were conducted immediately prior to classroom observation. That is because most of the support assistants were scheduled to provide support in several classes with different teachers. I introduced myself and discussed my position in the class to minimise any possible distraction from learning and support.

Interviews were conducted after at least two units of observation. It was more difficult to arrange times for interview as assistants' schedules were usually tight and they had little autonomy regarding use of time.

The flow of the interviews and the lists of questions were slightly different from those with the teachers. As most participating assistants had considerable experience in the participant schools, the interviews with them yielded information beyond just what had emerged from observation. The interviews were useful not only in revealing consistency or inconsistency of view between teachers and support assistants but also in uncovering the details of the context of support assistance; their work and responsibilities, the range of pupils they supported, their level of co-operation with teachers, the nature of interaction and the perceptions of their status in the class. The three components of the modified WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Webster et al., 2011), viz., preparation, deployment, and practice, were guidelines for assistant interviews.

Before interview, the interviewees were reminded of their right not to answer any questions and to terminate the conversation whenever they wanted. After a brief explanation of the interview flow, I asked general questions on how support assistance was going in the school and in each class in which the assistant worked and how their roles had evolved during their careers (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

To get to the central issue, I asked about some strategies that the support assistant constantly used for the SEN pupil in the class. Some assistants used additional materials for drawing and writing in the lesson and others kept giving physical prompts or took part in activities together with the pupil. They were invited to give rationales for those strategies. Some were proud of what they had developed and others mentioned the amount of work required to prepare for each pupil.

On the main focus, I asked what the routine was (who are supported in what situations) and how support assistance was planned, implemented and monitored. I also took a few examples from observation of support for other pupils and sought the rationale for those (how often and why the assistant helped other pupils, with any examples that came to mind). Whether and how the assistant communicated with the class teacher and/or Special Class Teacher came out naturally in the course of the interview. To varying degrees, all the participating support assistants, while reflecting on their practice, found dilemmas in terms of the range of pupils to be helped and of pedagogical decisions to be made. I asked for and was given examples which showed that assistance was meaningful for pupils and for the class. Contrary experiences then naturally came up. At the end, as in the teacher interviews, the assistants were asked to describe the two different photographed situations and were asked for their preferred style and their rationale for it.

A challenge in the assistant interview was the assistants' emotional involvement as they spoke about dilemmas that they had not previously aired, some of which were outwith the range of topics that I wanted to explore. For example, some assistants spent a lot of time explaining the severity of the disability of supported pupils. They said how physically exhausting those pupils were and how they (the assistants) were treated unfairly by school staff, including school management teams, during their careers. I listened carefully to it all and sympathised (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Those off-topic conversations did reveal much about relevant issues, roles and communication, particularly a lack of certainty about roles and confusion and tension about professional identity. Details were elaborated through subsequent questioning. The main structure of the assistant interview is at *Appendix J.*

4.6. Coding and translation

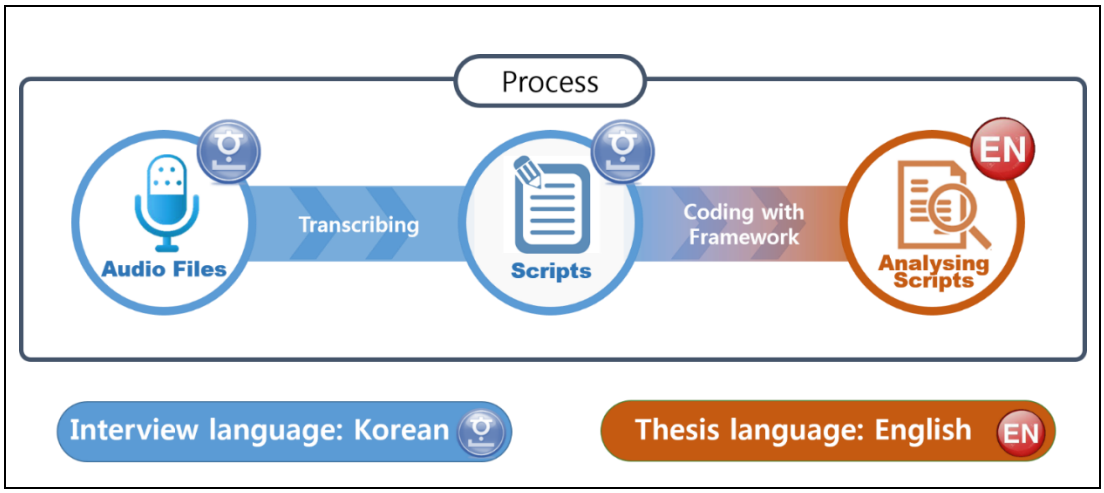
In this study, the data was collected in one language and the study is presented in another. All the participants spoke Korean throughout the data collection. The interviews were recorded and the class observation was noted in Korean. For analysis of data, the fragments had to be translated into English as the framework and the code list were resources written in English.

In qualitative research, collecting data in a researcher's native language and translating into a publishing language for analysis and interpretation is common practice (Santos, Black, & Sandelowski, 2015). It does raise issues as no formal protocol has been

established to deal with the influence of translation and to ensure the trustworthiness of the qualitative research (Chen & Boore, 2010).

The objects and subject of translation and the availability of resources (time, finance, etc.) determine the timing (stage) of translation (Temple & Young, 2004). For example, in collaborative (team) research between researchers from non-English countries, early-stage translation might be recommended for effective communication and smooth process (ibid). However, where it is important to analyse data by checking codes and emerging findings, and to develop a transparent interpretation, the original language ought to be retained for as long as possible (Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010). In this study, as seen below in *Figure 4-2*, the interviews with teachers and assistants were recorded as audio files, transcribed into Korean and then translated into English.

(Figure 4-2) The process of translation



To better identify the implications of each fragment and, as Temple and Young (2004) mention with regard to the availability of resources in the decision on when and how to translate, to save time, I gave a code to each fragment in the margin of the original interview script so as to stick as closely as possible to the original context. While writing the analysis paper, I translated what appeared to be the significant fragments. As data analysis is an iterative process between original script and codes, frequent translation and back-translation (Chen & Boore, 2010), to fine-tune for accuracy, was a natural rather than formal part of the process of coding and collation.

During the process of ‘data saturation’, looking at data from different angles and at possible interpretations, findings were emerging which were not final outcomes of the study. Implications and findings were distilled through changes and development up until the final stage of the study. In the meantime, the original data were kept in the original

language to avoid possible distortion of meaning and to maintain the validity of the research where the exact English equivalents did not exist (Nes et al., 2010).

Despite efforts to translate as accurately and directly as possible, I occasionally had to paraphrase to convey meaning and the context and to avoid misunderstanding. For example, when an assistant said, “Sometimes, I was not treated as a human being in the class” I rephrased that to “Sometimes, I was ignored in the class” alongside the direct translation. That was because, the following snippet was “Even though I say hello, I did not get any response from the teacher”. In that situation and context, rephrasing gave a more accurate rendering.

4.7. Ethical considerations

As a reference for ethical considerations in this study, ‘Ethical guidelines for educational research’ (British Educational Research Association, 2011) was used. Before the data collection, the ethical application, covering the principles to be applied during the process of data collection, storage and presentation, was approved by the university (April 2016). As Simons (2009) indicates, ethics are references for behaving and interacting in relation to people. The ethical considerations of research, therefore, provide a ‘set of principles’ to be applied to any research process to ensure that the research seeks findings that will be beneficial to the participants (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

Before the data collection, at the stage of seeking prospective schools and teachers, the research purpose and procedures were clearly stated, as were the role of the researcher, the nature and duration of observation and interview and the researcher’s details (Creswell, 2013a; Robson, 2011). The research flyer used in this study is presented in *Appendix G*. Access to each school was negotiated by the participant teacher first, and officially confirmed on the first visit. Even though the participants had shown interest and had seemed motivated to take part in the research, each was invited to make a final decision after the induction meetings at which I gave a briefing about the research subject and how the research would be conducted (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). At the induction meetings, I sought the official ‘voluntary informed consent’ (British Educational Research Association, 2011) from teachers and assistants. The consent form indicated the purpose of the study and project details, assured the participants of confidentiality and

informed them of their right to withdraw at any stage (See *Appendix H*). Participants' opinions were sought when negotiating the data-collection schedule and the location and boundary of movement of the researcher as observer.

Before each observation, I waited in the corridor until the teacher invited me to join the class in the classroom, playground or gym. During observation, to minimise disturbance, I tried to stay at the back but occasionally, where necessary, moved nearer to pupils. I positioned myself at the spot which the teacher and I had agreed on but that was not always the best location. The most difficult challenge was that my presence inevitably affected pupils from time to time. For example, in one class, where the teacher had not explained the observation, a few pupils were suspicious of me and some were curious about my observation notes. After that observation, I sought advice from the teacher regarding my reaction to that situation. In another class, when I approached a supported pupil, the assistant wanted to explain to me what she had done and what was going on. That was likely to disturb pupils sitting nearby. I had to ask if she would be happy to save those details for the scheduled interview. My attitude was consistently polite, as of one asking permission or seeking guidance.

In the interest of equity in the relationship, as Seidman (2013) urges, all interviewees were reminded at the start of their right not to answer questions, to correct questions and to terminate the interview. To ensure 'equality in questioning, interpreting and reporting' between interviewer and interviewee and so as not to set up an interviewer-dominated relationship, interviewees were encouraged to respond with openness (Creswell, 2013a; Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Robson, 2011), and invited to interrogate the support assistant provision (Flyvbjerg, 2006). While I was probing to clarify, confirm or extend an answer, I tried to encourage interviewees to expand their ideas and to think about the subject (Drever & University of Glasgow - Scottish Centre for Research in Education, 2003). When responses went off the intended track, I did not stop the conversation but tried to rephrase questions naturally. For example, a teacher kept focusing on the SEN pupil's inability and need for special education. A term I used, "inclusive education" was continually confused with "special education", as those two were perceived to mean the same. Rather than correcting the misunderstanding, my questions were rephrased using prompts such as examples of situations. Before the data interpretation stage, my account of interviews was cross-checked with participants to avoid any possible misunderstanding.

An interview takes place in a relationship, a social context, between the interviewer who had planned the interview with a precise purpose, and the interviewee who is a position to share his/her experiences, feelings and thoughts (Seidman, 2013). Despite all the effort to make the relationship between the researcher and participants fair, there still was a

tension between myself and participants, particularly teachers, as they were expected to expose their working style to observation. Interview was relatively easily accepted but most participant teachers showed some hesitation about showing their practice. On the other hand, however, since no teacher actively worked with a support assistant and the pervasive practice was parallel working, the teachers considered the work of the support assistant, not their own teaching, to be the focus of the observation. In other words, the perceived independence of the support assistant from the teacher relaxed the tension between myself (observer/researcher) and the teachers. Moreover, since this study aimed mainly to elicit the participants' perspectives, I emphasised that, to answer the research questions, participants would be considered as experts helping the researcher to understand the specific given situations in the class (Oakley, 2016). In the meanwhile, they would conceive the importance of their own perspectives in this research so that there were no right or wrong answers to questions. The interviews flowed as discussions (Drever & University of Glasgow - Scottish Centre for Research in Education, 2003). At the same time, I had had similar experiences with class teachers in primary school in S. Korea when I worked there as a teacher. I understood the atmosphere and structure of the state school in general as a 'platform for shared knowledge production' (Vähäsantanen & Saarinen, 2013) and what would be the conflicting demands of the classroom. It was useful to be able to show genuine sympathy and empathy with their feelings.

To see the reality of inclusive practice from multiple points of view, this study includes the accounts of support assistants. Initially, it was considered important to triangulate data by providing a view of class practice from a different angle. Their contributions, however, were in themselves significant. Their voice had not been shared as if they were stakeholders. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the views previously sought had been those of teachers (and sometimes of mainstream pupils). Jeong (2013) interviewed support assistants in his study, not to seek their point of view or to learn from their experience but simply to investigate whether they understood the political implications of the provision. However, in this study, their voices were regarded as a valuable resource to reveal how support assistance has been implemented in terms of how their work has been utilised. The voice of the speechless in the field of inclusive education has been sought (Lincoln et al., 2011). They were empowered as main stakeholders in the provision.

Sensitive and possibly sensitive questions were asked in the 'What if…' format that Byrne (2005, cited in Thomas, 2011) used for everyday reasoning in order to get participants to really think and to avoid just the direct reflection of the practice (Gary

Thomas, 2011). For example, the question, “How would you work with a support assistant if you had authority?” produced ideas that sometimes differed from their current class practice. Photographs were taken not for inclusion in the thesis but to assist with data analysis by reminding the researcher of the scenes of observations. The taking of photographs had been agreed at the induction meetings and, to minimise the observer effect, photos were taken at a distance or when pupils were not in class.

The teachers’ and the assistants’ schedules were tight and they had to create space to contribute to this research. At the completion of those efforts, as announced to the participants beforehand and approved by the ethical committee of the university, financial compensation was provided at the official overtime rate for each participant (teachers and assistant) for actual hours of participation in induction meetings, observations and interviews and in checking interview transcriptions. The sums would not have drawn them into participation but were appreciated.

Fundamentally, the research was aimed at benefitting all who were and will be affected by the support available from teacher and assistant in the school classroom. Challenging and justifying the practice of support assistance from the perspective of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) may contribute to a change from the integration of pupils with SEN to full inclusion of all. Insights from the study may be of help to mainstream class teachers, support assistants and Special Class Teachers who seek to make their practice more inclusive.

Ideally, these research outcomes will be treated as warranting a review of the current limitations of the support system, to the benefit of all of the pupils in school classes.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

Looking at each class's use of support assistance opened up for examination the idiosyncratic features of individual teachers' perspectives and actual instances and types of support. Also identified within the complexity and uniqueness of each practice were recurring factors and circumstances contributing to or constraining inclusive practice.

In the interests of consistency and accuracy in analysis and to avoid making connections between whole cases at an early stage, each of the three forms of material (teacher interview, assistant interview, and class observation), was analysed separately. The three types of data were then collated as cases to show the patterns of class practice.

While analysing the teacher interviews, a code list was developed from the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b). For the analysis of the assistant interviews, themes based on the research context were developed. Both inductive and deductive approaches were applied. Using the IPAA framework made it possible to interpret data deductively according to the principles in that framework while new contexts relevant to the research questions were added as new categories. The assistant interviews in particular contributed to generating themes regarding the forms of support assistance and conditions affecting the role of assistants. Analysing the class observation notes made it possible to see support assistance in action in the flow of the lesson together with the teacher's and pupils' words and actions. The analysed material of interviews and observation was collated into cases to see the pattern of practice in each class. Consistency and inconsistency were both apparent across the three principles of the IPAA framework.

As shown in *Appendix M*, memos were widely used in the analytical process. To refine code descriptions and to relate fragments of teacher interviews to the code(s), issues which arose and my decisions on codes were reflected on in an iterative process of analysis until the final coding. For structuring and synthesising fragments of assistant interviews, memos were also useful to identify themes. Memos were written on the raw

data (interview scripts) and analysis notes. More details are in 4.3.3 Validity and reliability of the research.

5.2. First round: Analysing data as material

5.2.1 Process of development of codes from the teacher interview scripts

As parts of the analytical process, developing and applying codes were important steps in terms of showing what the data revealed in relation to the concepts of the research (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Fragments from interviews and observations were linked to codes and collated in categories involving the three components of the theoretical framework, the IPAA (Florian, 2014b).

Coding was aimed not at defining which practice was inclusive or exclusive but at describing 'to what extent' any particular words, actions or observed practice were inclusive and/or exclusive. Each code had a unique meaning but codes were inter-related, so it was inevitable that plural codes would appear simultaneously in a full description of a practice. Each code in the final list was labelled as inclusive, exclusive or neutral to identify the nature of the practice.

In the process of "First Cycle Coding" (Matthew et al., 2014), the raw data was condensed and ordered selectively according to the research questions. Before moving on to analysing data, I wanted to get an overall picture and to involve myself in it with the research purpose and questions in mind. I read and reflected on it for familiarisation (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002) and then extracted data according to the research context. A challenge while reading the scripts was to select only fragments relevant to the research and to ignore the interesting but irrelevant. Applicability to the scripts, however, tended to be quite obvious as the irrelevant material did not lend itself to coding. *Appendix C* gives details of the initial code list based on the IPAA framework.

As seen in *Appendix B,* the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b) is in four parts, viz. 1) Assumptions, 2) Associated Concepts or Actions, 3) Key challenges and 4) Evidence. The framework was applied flexibly in this study according to the material and the level of relevance to the original framework. To develop the initial code list (V.1), for the purpose of the study and to obtain evidence of contexts which made practice inclusive, I adapted

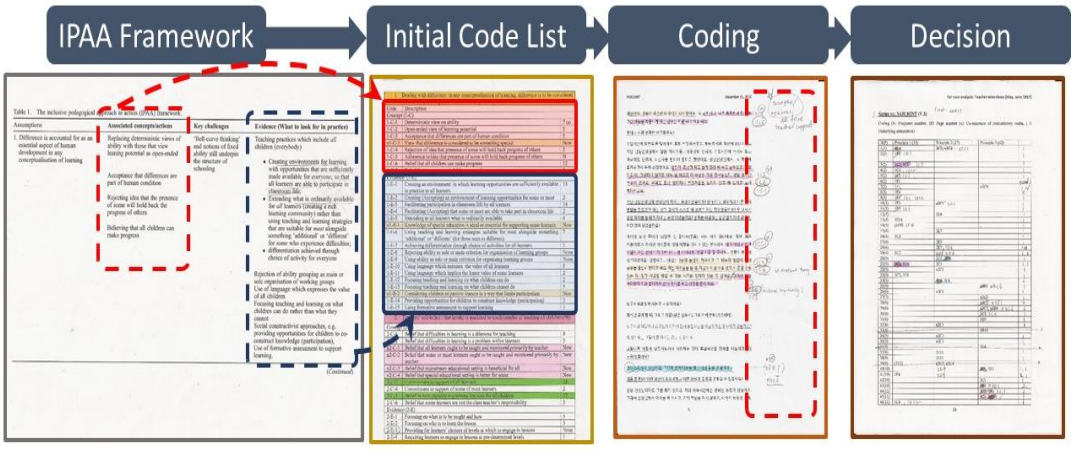
two parts, 2) and 4), as being directly relevant and as lending themselves to observation. Both parts (1. Concept and action and 2. Evidence) were useful for describing a teacher's thinking as revealed at interview but only 2. Evidence was used to analyse class observations as those observations did not reveal the underlying views of the parties involved, teachers, assistants, pupils and other professionals.

To analyse the teacher interviews, the initial code list was developed from the IPAA framework as seen in the table below. Up to the final version, the code list was gradually elaborated as all the seven interview scripts were applied to it one by one. The completed code list encompasses all of the relevant fragments from the teacher interviews. The final version was then compiled to confirm the code of each fragment in preparation for interpretation. The details of the process are as below.

(Table 5.1) The process of developing codes and analysing teacher interviews

1) Developing the initial code list (1st version from the IPAA framework)
2) Coding the first three interviews
3) Revising the list (2nd version)
4) Coding another three interviews
5) Revising the list (3rd version)
6) Coding the remaining script
7) Revising the list (4th, final version)
8) Confirming the code of fragments from all seven scripts with the final version

(Figure 5-1) Snapshot of developing and applying codes into teacher interview script



The first version of the code was applied to the first three interview scripts three times followed by a comparison of the two sets of results for a third as final decision. To

differentiate between the three principles in the framework, three different coloured pens were used on the hard copy scripts. References were recorded on the margin of each transcript. During the process of application of the three cases, notes were made about issues that might require new codes or amendment or subdivision of existing codes. Close connections and possible connections between codes were identified and some were considered for merging of codes. Issues that emerged from the respondents which might have implications but did not fit into the existing code lists were entered in a different colour as “unidentified text” requiring, in some instances, new codes.

After coding the first three interview scripts (Dec. 2016) the codes were revised (V.2). They were applied to the next three teachers’ interview scripts. At this stage, to ensure accuracy in terminology in the codes and to confirm connections between codes and fragments, three separate trials were conducted with an interval of at least three days between the first and second trial of each script. Inconsistencies between trials were dealt with through comparison with coding decisions made in respect of the first three scripts. Accuracy of coding gradually improved through reflecting on and comparing coding between and within scripts. Although some fragments that could have had multiple codes had to be considered from various angles, an effort was made to find the main meaning of each fragment to avoid unnecessary multiple codes. The newly developed codes (18) and broken sub-codes were applied to the next three scripts, with the result that fewer fragments remained un-coded. After that, with V.3, the last script was coded and V.4 was developed by adding two more codes from V.3 (total added: 20: *Appendix D*).

Where recurring co-appearance was identified, codes were collapsed and rearranged. The criteria determining retention or collapse are shown below.

Criteria for Retention: Codes with connections between ‘Concept’ and ‘Evidence’ were left as they might apply independently in different situations. Where two codes were independently related to research questions, I retained them even where they were closely related and were in the same categories, whether Evidence or Concept. Non-appearing codes from the initial code list and codes important to the research context were retained for coding fragments from the class observations.

Criteria for Collapse: A code was retained when it was more closely related to the research questions, closer in meaning to the original IPAA framework, more comprehensive or occurred more frequently. That code was deleted when it was less closely related to the research questions, vague in meaning or overlapped in meaning with a code from the initial list. Where codes repeatedly connected, the code appearing less frequently was deleted. *Appendix E* presents the details of the connections between

codes and the decisions to collapse and to rearrange. *Appendix F* shows the final version of the code list.

Before the final coding of the teacher interview scripts, I collated the original induction meeting notes, the class observation notes and the initially-coded interview scripts into cases. I then made final decisions on coding, deleted fragments unrelated to the research context, merged fragments related to other fragments and added fragments either initially un-coded but significant or from an induction meeting. Initially, I tried to choose codes from 'Concept' rather than 'Evidence' as the interviews had recorded what the teachers said rather than what they did. It was not always easy, however, to make that distinction, because the interviews were mainly or partly about what had been observed. At least one code applied to each fragment but plural codes often applied. Each code from the final list was labelled on the right hand side to quantify each teacher's interview fragments in order a) to see the general flow of the teacher's thinking and how she/he would or did put that thinking into practice and b) to show up the consistency or any inconsistency between or within the fragments in terms of whether they were 1) inclusive, 2) not inclusive or 3) neutral (depending on other factors).

5.2.2 Issues emerging from developing and applying the codes

During coding, each teacher's views on the issues and the evidence were noted as memos on the script and recorded in the analysis note (Bryman, 2015). Re-structuring of the codes, including additions and deletions, was used in the analysis process to obtain a set of conceptual variables and empirical evidence to answer the research questions (Matthew et al., 2014). Where a large part of a single fragment had a number of references to existing codes, that was taken as a basis for re-arranging and revising the initial framework so, where two or three coding numbers were interspersed or two or three codes repeatedly appeared together, that was taken as a possible indication of interconnection (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Ritchie & Spencer, 2002). Such 'simultaneous' coding (Matthew et al., 2014) is inevitable and identifies connections between codes. Connections between codes were identified and indicated in the script coding and framework.

The co-existence of inclusive and exclusive codes was not unusual, as a practice could have both inclusive and exclusive dimensions. For example, code 2E9 signifies "Flexible approach driven by the needs of learners for support" in an 'inclusive' code. A teacher providing a flexible support on the basis of each learner's need' might be acting 'inclusively'

but where that “flexibility” derived from a deterministic belief about ability, (1C1: ‘exclusive’), the rationale of the practice would be “exclusive”. Rather than defining practice as exclusive or inclusive, the codes were used to describe practices.

As may be been seen from the frequency with which the codes appear (recorded to the right of the code list in Appendix F, not all codes applied. Some codes initially developed from the IPAA framework were not relevant to explain practice in this study. For example, under Principle1, ability grouping was not commonly used to organise lessons in S. Korea, even by teachers with a deterministic view on ability. Code (1E8) “Rejecting ability as the sole or main criterion for organisation of learning groups” and (1E9) “Using ability as the sole or main criterion for organising learning groups” did not appear. Codes describing a specific strategy by which a teacher demonstrated a high standard of inclusive practice e. g., (1E7) “Achieving differentiation through a choice of activities for all learners”, were not apparent in the natural flow of lessons observed or in the thinking of teachers. Similarly, under Principles 3, no class teacher used her or his initiative to co-operate with a support assistant. So code (3C3) “Modelling or creative new ways of working” did not appear. Due to the official structure, although teachers had different views of support assistant provision, none considered her/himself to have official ownership of the provision. The non-appearance of the code reflected common practice.

Some codes appeared frequently but required further elaboration to yield a clear meaning. They were broken down into sub-codes. Code (2C6) “Belief that some learners are not the class teacher’s responsibility” did not appear. Basically, all the participating teachers seemed to accept that all of the pupils, including the pupil with SEN, were in their charge. How they exercised that responsibility varied, however. For clarity, codes were separated into belief and action (‘action’ showing whether or not a teacher in practice exercised primary responsibility for teaching all the pupils in the class).

Lastly, to minimise the risk of a personal value-driven decision, I tried not to use Code (1E11) “Using language which implies the lesser value of some learners”. For example, where an interview fragment had: *“I do not know what S (the SEN pupil) can do in the class. What can he do in the curriculum of primary 5?”* It was apparent that the teacher did not see S as being the same as other pupils, and his way of expressing that seemed not to value S (1E11). Code (1C7) “Belief that some or most children can make progress” was used instead as being more precise and less subjective.

5.2.3 Identifying context of support assistance while analysing assistant interviews

The assistant's feelings and opinions about working in various mainstream classes were recorded in the scripts. Analysis of those interviews identified various support contexts which they had experienced during the course of their careers. They described what forms of support had been provided in what contexts and how they had interacted with pupils and teachers. Their views were not, however, the main subject of this research so, rather than analyse each interview as an independent unit, I used the interviews for triangulation by extracting recurring themes relating to the research questions to support or put a question mark against findings regarding circumstances and contexts identified in the teacher interviews. Examples of support were used not only to qualify the teacher interviews but also to provide rich and complex descriptions of realities that the assistants had experienced over the years.

Codes from the framework were not directly applied to the assistant interviews but the themes were developed across the principles, particularly the third 'working with others', and contributed to identifying the forms and contexts of support assistance. Initially, I tried to match the assistants' interview scripts to the final code list in order to code the main fragments. It emerged, however, that most of the scripts did not match any of the codes used for the teacher interview scripts. That was because the principles of the framework were designed mainly to view teachers' practice from their perspectives. Even though some assistants had a high level of responsibility and experience, the majority of their opinions did not directly address the subject of this study. They had limited autonomy and the relevance of their personal perspectives was accordingly of limited value. Their roles varied and each was determined by the class teacher's preferred way of working and by the needs of the pupils and by other circumstances. In line with the modified WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) the assistant interviews revealed the variety of ways in which they were deployed. Anecdotes of personal experience, including their struggles and challenges, contributed to identifying what their roles were and what factors affected them. Interestingly, the anecdotes illustrated vividly the tension in the system of support assistance.

As shown in the table below, to check continuity, an initial review of the class observation notes was carried out alongside the analysis of each assistant's interview. Each observation note recorded the actions of the assistant, the flow of movement of teacher and pupils in the class and the context(s) in which the assistant interacted with

pupils and teacher. The observation notes helped to remind me of the observed classroom scenes and aided understanding of the assistants' interview scripts by matching actions to words. Themes related to the research context, e.g., "the roles of the assistant", "the forms (nature) of support" and "circumstances affecting the work of the assistant", were generated in the assistant interviews. A wide range of contexts of support by assistants was identified. All of the coloured fragments were sorted into those categories and collated in the assistant interview analysis paper (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The identified themes are shown below. They were further elaborated when the identified context was interpreted.

(Table 5.2) Steps of analysis of assistant interviews

1. Initial review of observation note.
2. Creating initial themes and trial. 1) Reading scripts three times and noting keywords in margins. 2) Collecting key words and grouping them into themes. 3) Identifying initial themes and describing themes (using different colours for different themes). 4) Highlighting fragments in the scripts (in theme colours).
3. Elaborating the themes and applying the fragments. 1) Re-writing descriptions of the themes in general terms embracing all the highlighted fragments. 2) Highlighting the fragments in the new scripts according to the new set of themes. 3) Comparing the two scripts and making final decisions about allocating fragments to themes, including relocating and merging.

(Table 5.3) Identified themes from assistant interviews

Category	Identified theme.
General activity	Roles performed Interaction with class teacher
The range of pupils supported	Situations of support for pupil with SEN Situations of support for other pupils
Factors affecting the role	Special Class Teacher's influence in deciding the assistant's role Class teacher's influence in deciding assistant's role Pedagogical decisions taken by assistant
Other	Relational complexity in communication

5.2.4. Picture of practice from class observation

Observation yielded data on teacher's actual support of individual pupils, groups and the class, the forms of support and the range of pupils supported by the assistants and whether and how the teacher and assistant worked together. The two main components of the modified WPR model, Deployment and Practice (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012), were used to organise collected data. The general activities of the support assistant were used to identify the nature of the support given. 'Context' of support included the classroom or learning space, the situation(s) of support provided by the assistant (one-to-one/group/whole class) and the range of pupils supported (SEN pupil and/or other pupils). They were used to give a picture of the actual use of support assistance. In addition, interaction between pupils and assistant showed support assistance in action. This was analysed in the context of the teacher's interaction with pupils or with the assistant in terms of responding to pupils' needs in a lesson.

(Table 5.4) Steps in analysis of class observation

1. Taking observation notes (raw)
2. Transcribing
3. Reading and familiarising
4. Extracting relevant fragments
5. Sorting out the context of support according to
   - the identity of the supporter (teacher, support assistant, other professional or peer) and,
   - the context of assistance (the range of pupils: individual or group)
6. Applying colour to each fragment
7. Applying the code from "Evidence" and identifying recurring codes

The original observation sheets were not used directly for analysis. In order to keep the original data in its original form and to analyse the observation notes independently and repeatedly while annotating them and highlighting fragments, the notes were transcribed into Microsoft Word. Rather than immediately coding the observed situations according to the framework or quantifying the data, I tried to capture what was going on (how an individual acted and any reactions). Reading and reflecting on each of the observations brought out more clearly the patterns of practice.

Initially, the observation notes were to be analysed unit by unit. Because the pattern of support practice appeared to be consistent across subjects, however, it seemed more effective to look for the pattern as a whole across the three units. If support had appeared

to vary in nature from unit to unit (e.g., by the presence/absence of an assistant), the units would have been analysed separately. Throughout the process, I kept the original data (the sets of handwritten observation sheets) beside me to check the drawings made (layout of class/activity and movements of teacher, assistant and pupils) and other details. After transcribing each observation note, I read it 2 or 3 times, selected fragments relating to the focus and underlined them. I wrote a general summary of each lesson (e.g., “the teacher made a range of efforts to include all of the pupils”, “the assistant gave help (with the form of help identified)”.

Patterns of practice and the rationale for them were identified by examining the relationship between practices as shown by the sequences of events. To see support assistance within the wider picture of class practice, the context of support provided by the teacher was also focused on. I read the underlined fragments in the left-hand column (teacher and pupils), and, to identify the nature of the support, wrote memos summarising each situation in general terms (e.g., task support, adjusting rules or personal support) and I also highlighted observed fragments by colour (e.g., strategy to include all - blue, context of support provided by teacher - green). The observed actions and words of the teacher were analysed by looking at whether they included everyone or some/most (e.g., in applying class rules, monitoring the class pupils or giving feedback), and by categorising the nature of the support provided by the teacher, e.g., prompts, encouraging engagement in a task, dealing with behavioural challenges or helping with personal needs. The extracted examples were sorted according to the nature of the support and its context (individual/group /the whole class).

The context of support provided by the assistant was also categorised by highlighting (e.g., individual support - yellow; group and class support - purple, referencing the modified WPR model). The scope of support assistance in each class varied depending on the assistant and/or the circumstances. The assistants’ interviews revealed a wide range of practice but observation provided first-hand evidence. As with teachers’ practice, forms of support, e.g., providing task support, taking part together, providing verbal or physical prompts, responding to personal needs or dealing with behavioural challenges, were noted and sorted by initials. Instances of interaction between pupils or between pupils and assistant were also highlighted (in red). The context of support by pupils was summarised.

After checking the details, the observation was re-analysed by applying the codes from “Evidence” to identify patterns of practice. Frequently recurring codes were noted on each code list to illustrate the class practice observed.

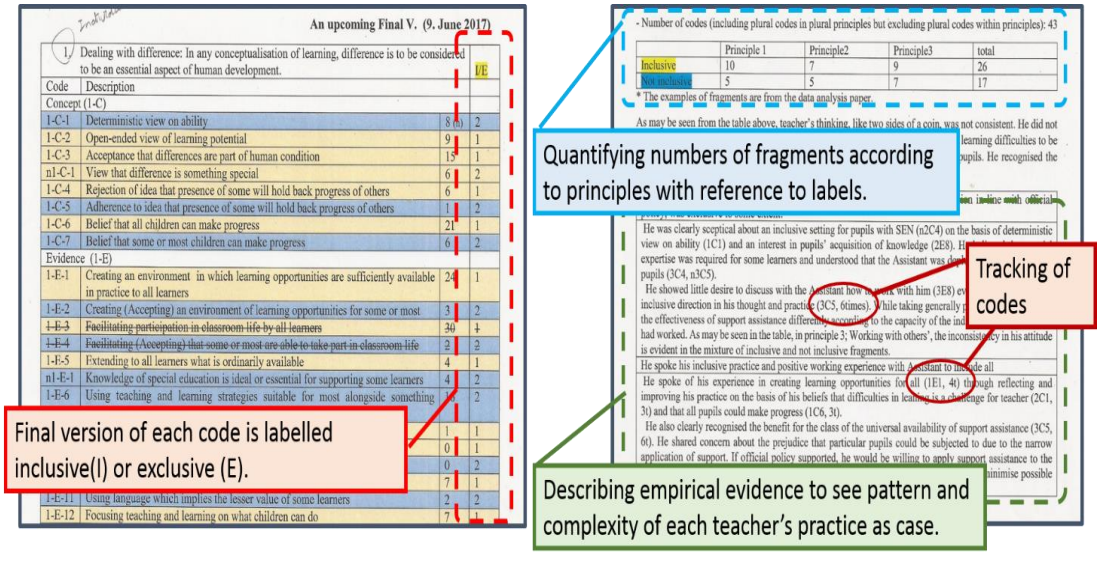
5.3. Second round: Patterns of class practice as cases

5.3.1 Process and result of each case

In the early stage of data analysis, to minimise the cross-influence of different forms of material (teacher interviews, assistant interviews and observations), they were not pulled together as cases. Findings and implications were merged, partly depending on the form of the material but, in order to show each case emerging from the complexity of those different forms of data, a full picture of each case (each class) was not drawn at that stage.

The induction meeting notes, final codes of the teacher interview scripts, and class observation notes were collated. From the teacher interviews, to see consistency or inconsistency in practice within and between principles and to identify the underlying pattern in each case, I counted the number of coded fragments, and divided them into three categories “inclusive”, “exclusive” and “neutral” according to the three principles of the framework. Arranging the empirical evidence in that way was a useful indicator of whether and in what ways thinking or practice was inclusive. The tracking codes that appeared frequently also helped me to identify in what ways the thinking and practice in any single case were contradictory or consistent. *Figure 5-2* below illustrates the process. For class observation, as for the teacher interviews, recurring codes were tracked as examples of practice. Inclusive practice and any circumstances that appeared to inhibit inclusive support by the teacher or assistants were recorded in the summary and interpreted.

(Figure 5-2) Quantifying and describing the rationale of the practice



Finally, to give a picture of the class, the flow and complexity in thinking and practice are summarised in the context of teaching, learning and supporting. How a teacher's teaching and support are combined with support provided by the assistant and the rationale for that whole form of practice were explained by interpreting the interview and the observation. Memos were used as analytical process with the application of the theoretical framework and thematising interview topics. The use of memos is presented in *Appendix M*.

5.3.2 The structure and diagram of the seven cases

'In qualitative analysis, method demands the process of construction and imposition of a pattern of thought or behaviour that organises categories of information and the relationships among them in a more mindful and self-aware way than canonical methods usually do' (Luker, 2008).

This research does not aim to generalise from results or to compare cases. Generated factors did, however, indicate the tendency or flow of the phenomena and yielded a broad picture of class practice. Each of the seven cases showed how a class pattern had developed out of the complexity of practice of teacher and assistant and the combination of those in the unique context of the class.

(Figure 5-3) Structure of class practice (a case)

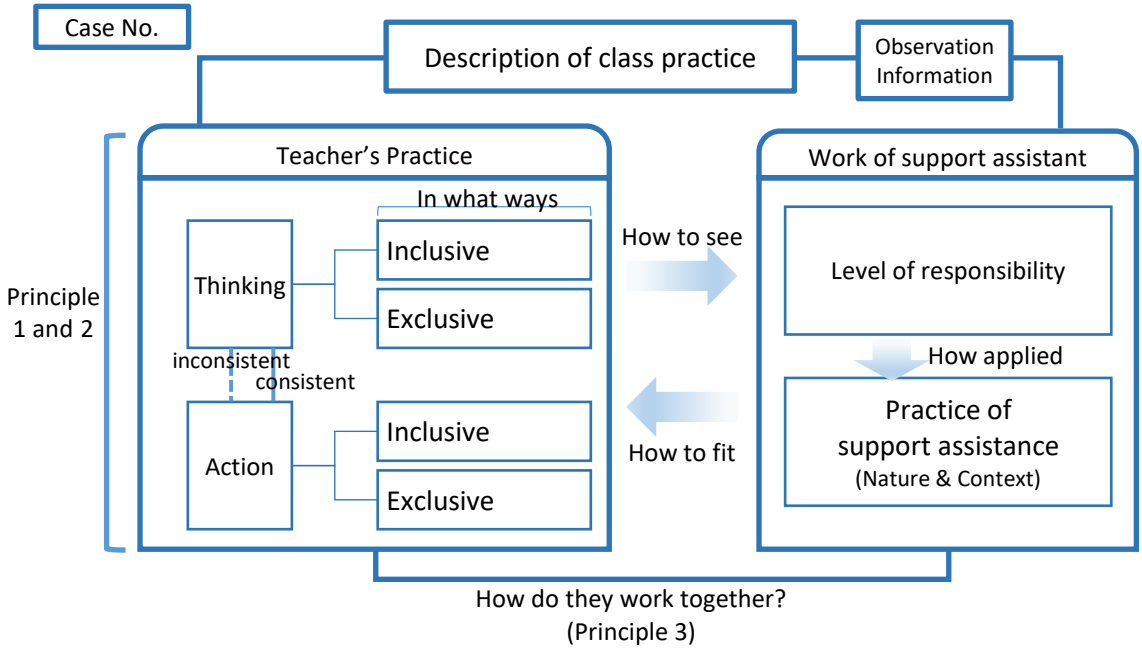


Figure 5-3 shows the structure of the diagram of a case (class practice). The structure of each case illustrated the teacher's thinking (from interview) and practice (from observation and interview) and the consistency or any inconsistency between or within them. Also evident was each assistant's apparent level of responsibility, as indicated by their spectrum of experience (interview and observation) and practice in class (observation). Between the teacher's practice and the assistant's practice, 1) how the teacher viewed the support assistance (teacher's perspective) and 2) how the support assistance was used (functioned) in the class practice were briefly mentioned. At the top of the structure was class practice, in terms of the combination of the teacher's practice and support assistance.

Figure 5-4 presents a diagram of the seven cases, each of which was idiosyncratic in terms of practice of inclusive education.

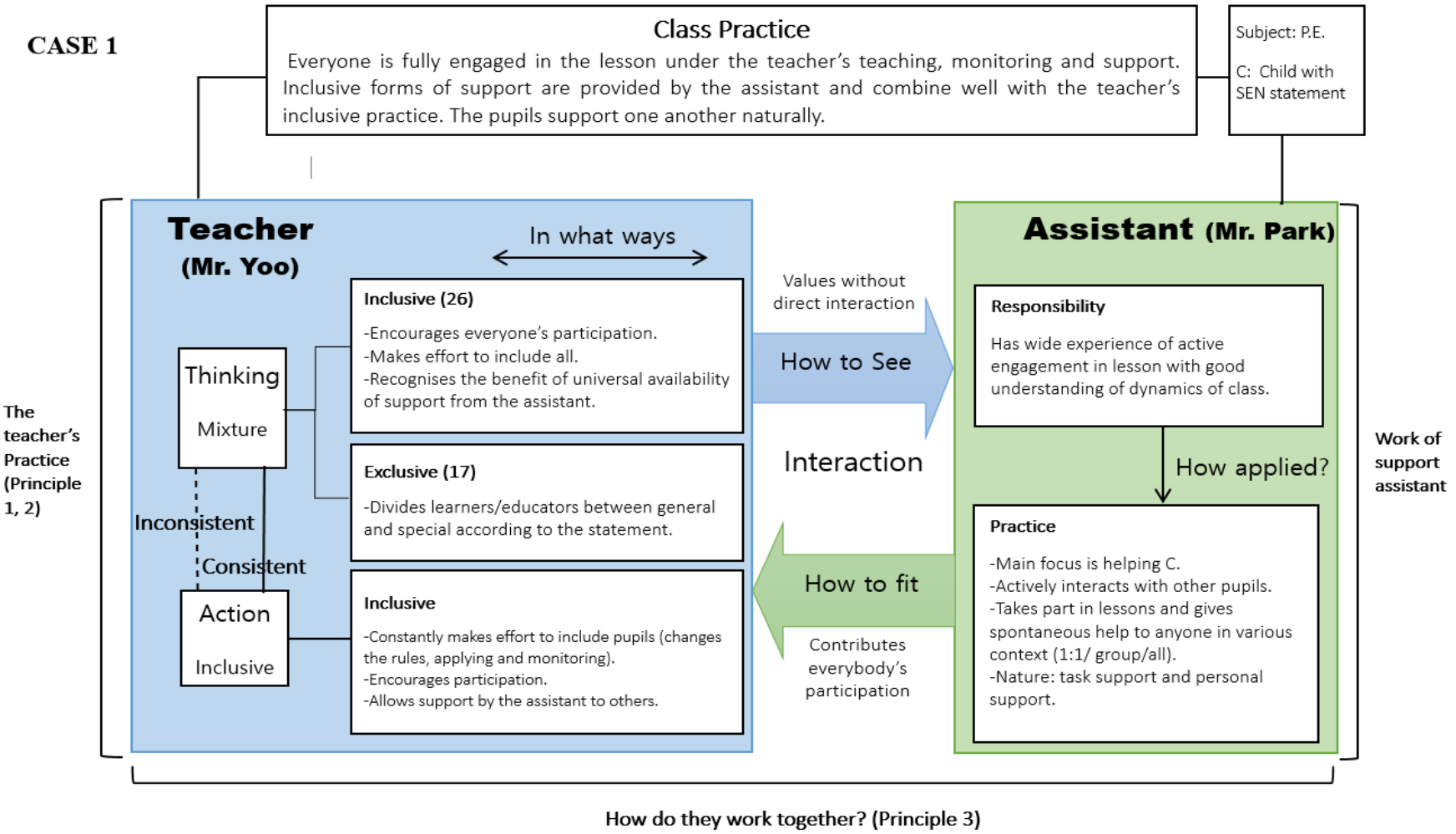
In 5.3.3 'Patterns of class practice' below, the consistency and the contradiction within each of the three cases with reference to the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b) were distilled into "exclusive (*Case 3*), inclusive (*Case 5*) and mixture of practice (*Case 7*)". Unique ways of developing inclusive practice through autonomy (*Case 6*) or partnership (*Case 2*) were also identified by flexible use of the framework.

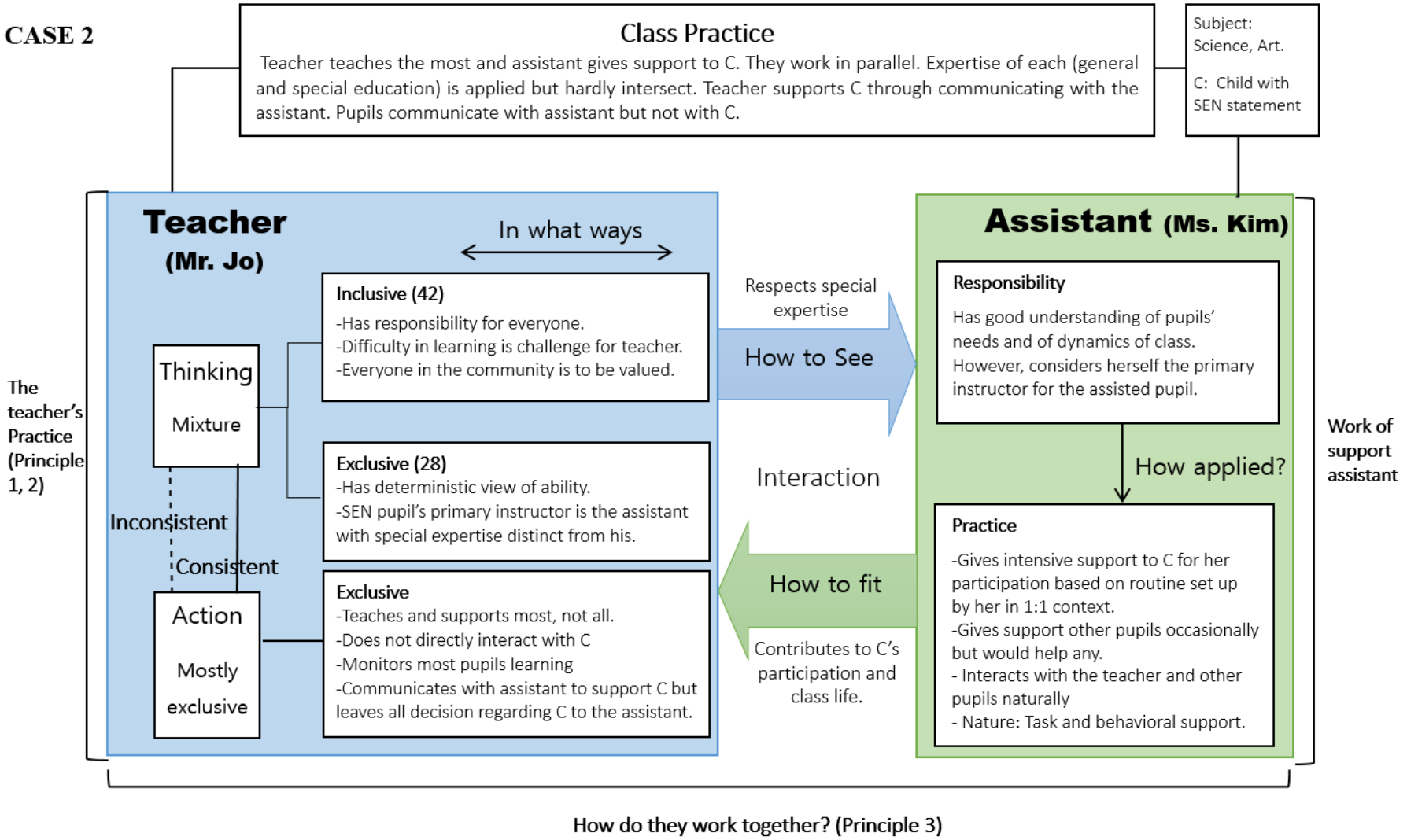
In Chapter 6, 'Enactment of support assistant provision', data showing the work of the support assistant were collated to show the scope and level of the support assistant's work.

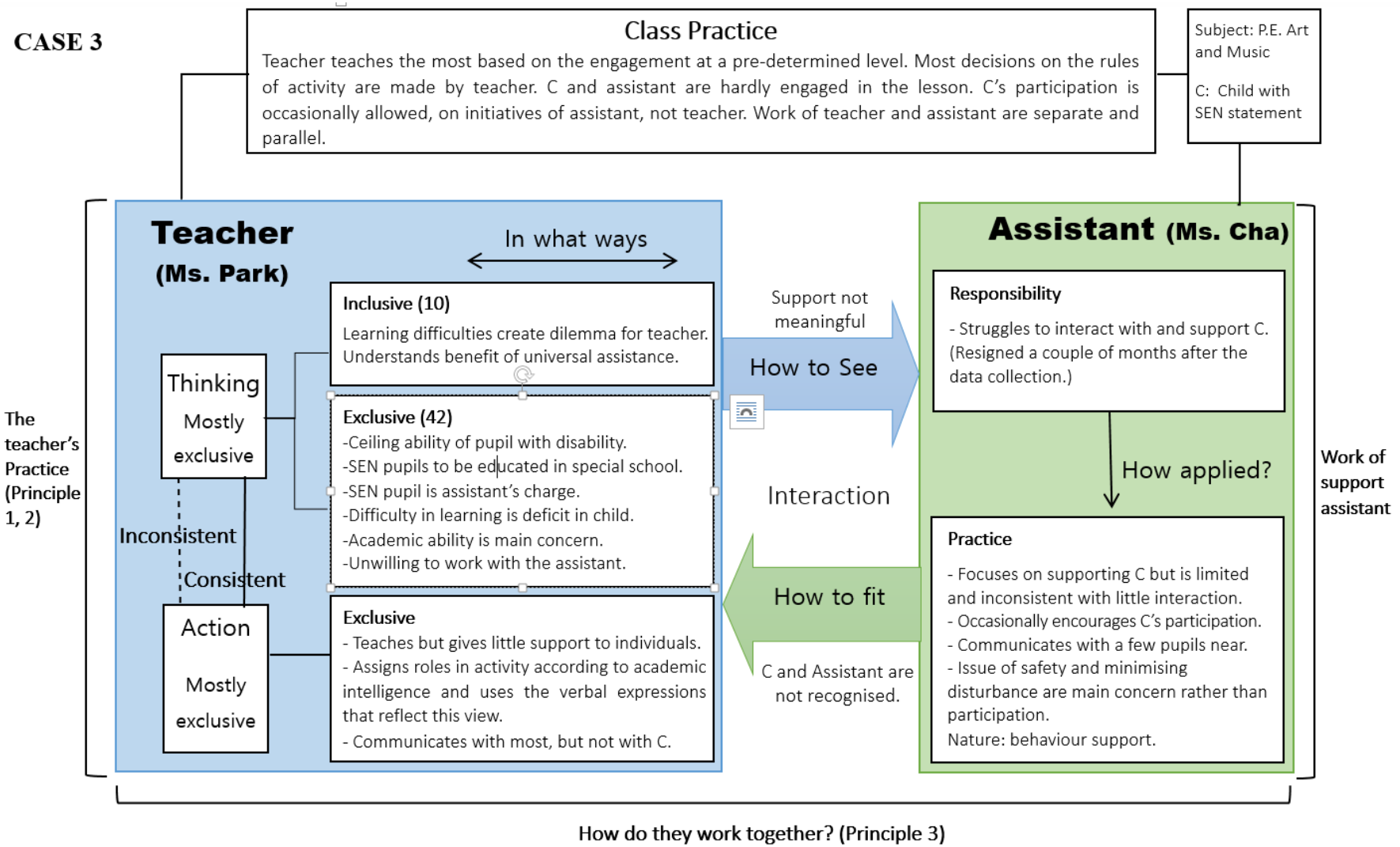
In Chapter 7, each case was distinguished to show its unique use of support assistance with an elaborated understanding of the "some and everyone approach" in this specific context.

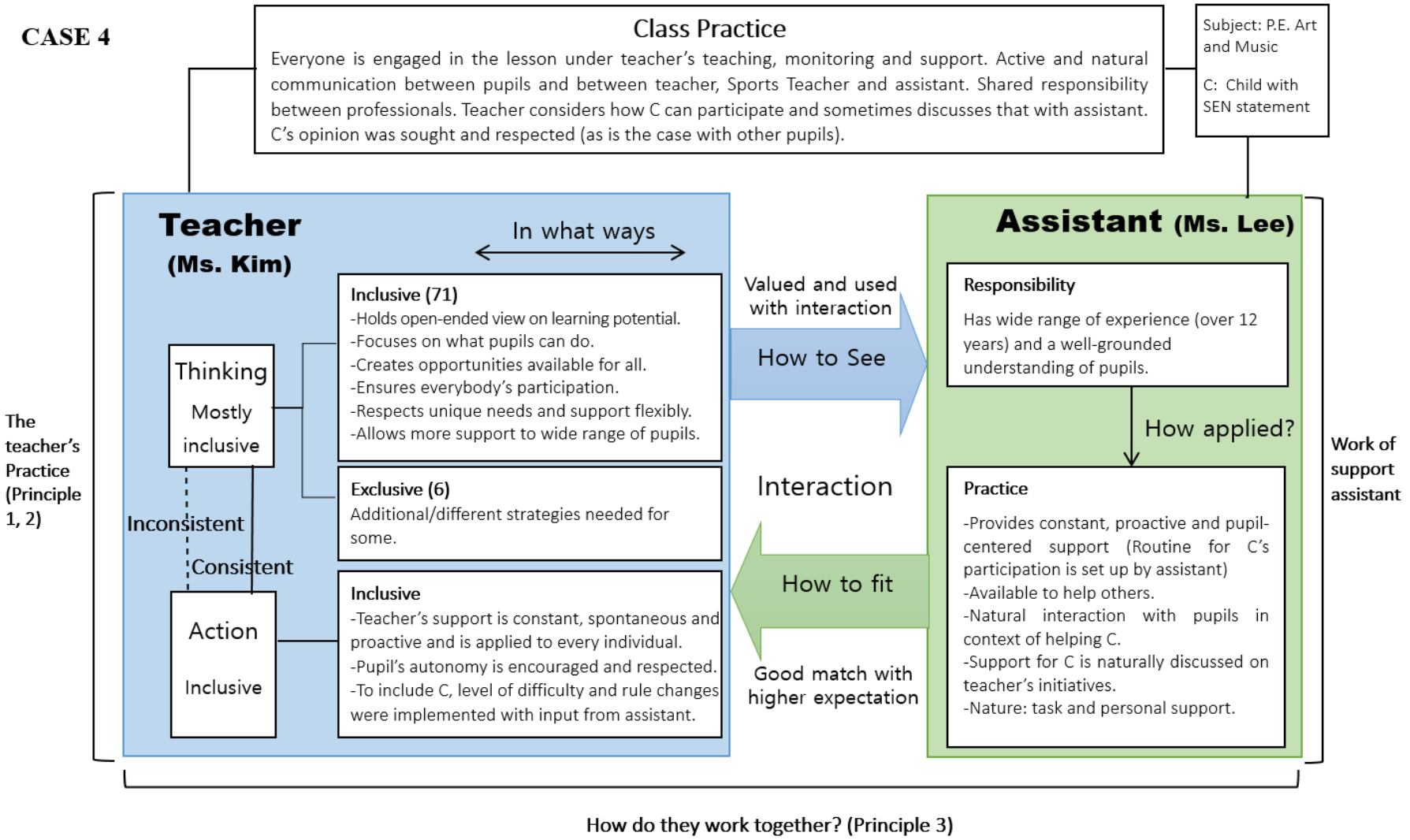
That is because class practice is not formed solely by a combination of the teacher's practice and the assistant's practice. The diagram of the case in *Figure5-4* reveals the extent of conflict or consistency between the teacher's thinking and actions (in line with the three principles of the IPAA). That dynamic and enriched description of each case was evidence for the debate about the nature and degree of inclusive practice developed in the specific context of the study.

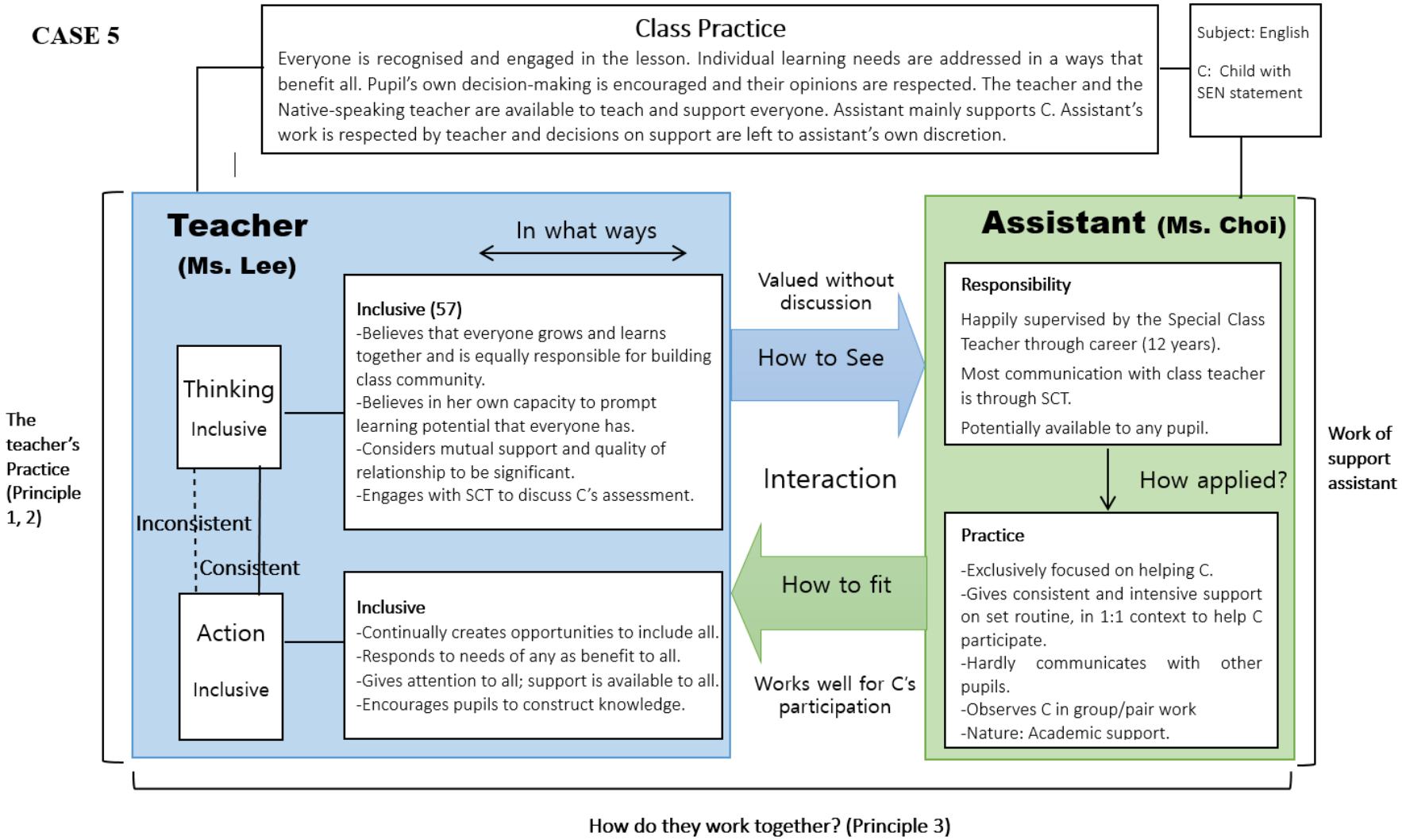
(Figure 5-4) Diagram of the seven cases

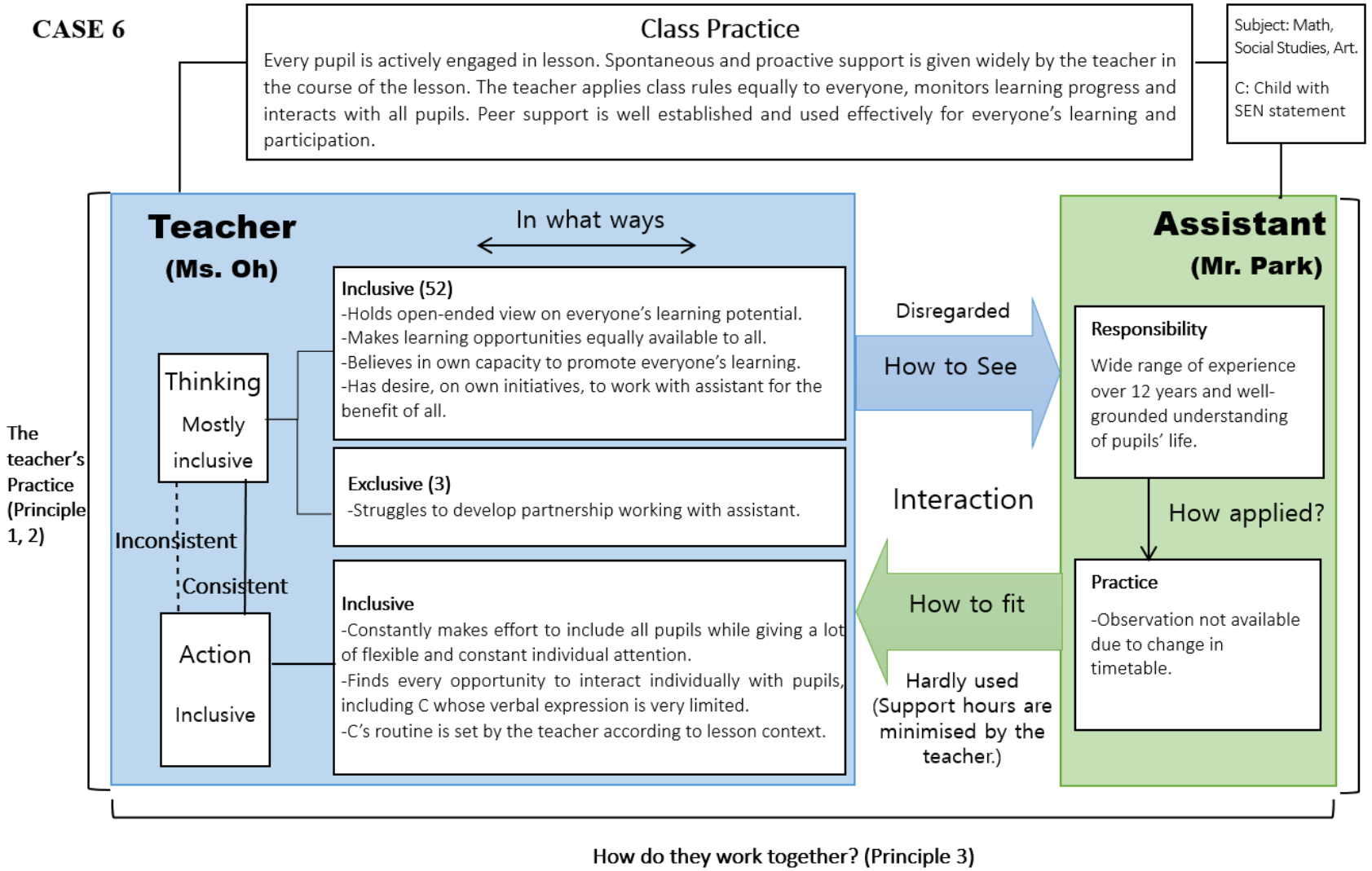


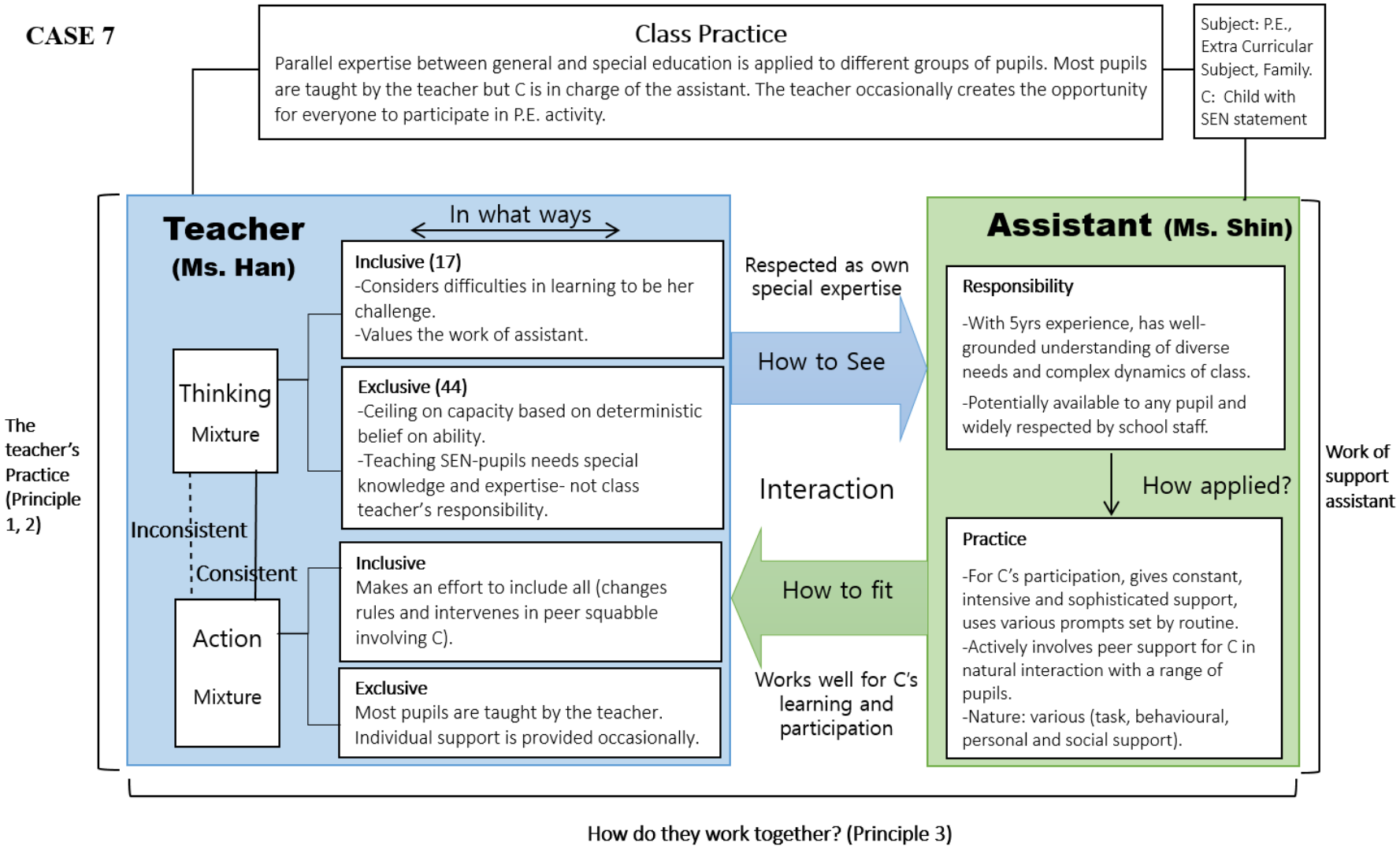

CASE 2
Class Practice
Teacher teaches the most and assistant gives support to C. They work in parallel. Expertise of each (general and special education) is applied but hardly intersect. Teacher supports C through communicating with the assistant. Pupils communicate with assistant but not with C.
Subject: Science, Art.
C: Child with SEN statement
Teacher (Mr. Jo)
In what ways
Inclusive (42)
-Has responsibility for everyone.
-Difficulty in learning is challenge for teacher.
-Everyone in the community is to be valued.
Thinking
Mixture
Exclusive (28)
-Has deterministic view of ability.
-SEN pupil's primary instructor is the assistant with special expertise distinct from his.
Inconsistent
Consistent
Action
Mostly exclusive
Exclusive
-Teaches and supports most, not all.
-Does not directly interact with C
-Monitors most pupils learning
-Communicates with assistant to support C but leaves all decision regarding C to the assistant.
Respects special expertise
How to See
Interaction
How to fit
Contributes to C's participation and class life.
Assistant (Ms. Kim)
Responsibility
Has good understanding of pupils' needs and of dynamics of class. However, considers herself the primary instructor for the assisted pupil.
How applied?
Practice
-Gives intensive support to C for her participation based on routine set up by her in 1:1 context.
-Gives support other pupils occasionally but would help any.
- Interacts with the teacher and other pupils naturally
- Nature: Task and behavioral support.
The teacher's Practice (Principle 1, 2)
Work of support assistant
How do they work together? (Principle 3)


CASE 3
Class Practice
Teacher teaches the most based on the engagement at a pre-determined level. Most decisions on the rules of activity are made by teacher. C and assistant are hardly engaged in the lesson. C's participation is occasionally allowed, on initiatives of assistant, not teacher. Work of teacher and assistant are separate and parallel.
Subject: P.E. Art and Music
C: Child with SEN statement
Teacher (Ms. Park)
In what ways
Inclusive (10)
Learning difficulties create dilemma for teacher. Understands benefit of universal assistance.
Thinking
Mostly exclusive
Exclusive (42)
-Ceiling ability of pupil with disability.
-SEN pupils to be educated in special school.
-SEN pupil is assistant's charge.
-Difficulty in learning is deficit in child.
-Academic ability is main concern.
-Unwilling to work with the assistant.
Inconsistent
Consistent
Action
Mostly exclusive
Exclusive
- Teaches but gives little support to individuals.
- Assigns roles in activity according to academic intelligence and uses the verbal expressions that reflect this view.
- Communicates with most, but not with C.
Support not meaningful
How to See
Interaction
How to fit
C and Assistant are not recognised.
Assistant (Ms. Cha)
Responsibility
- Struggles to interact with and support C. (Resigned a couple of months after the data collection.)
How applied?
Practice
- Focuses on supporting C but is limited and inconsistent with little interaction.
- Occasionally encourages C's participation.
- Communicates with a few pupils near.
- Issue of safety and minimising disturbance are main concern rather than participation.
Nature: behaviour support.
The teacher's Practice (Principle 1, 2)
Work of support assistant
How do they work together? (Principle 3)


CASE 4
Class Practice
Everyone is engaged in the lesson under teacher's teaching, monitoring and support. Active and natural communication between pupils and between teacher, Sports Teacher and assistant. Shared responsibility between professionals. Teacher considers how C can participate and sometimes discusses that with assistant. C's opinion was sought and respected (as is the case with other pupils).
Subject: P.E. Art and Music
C: Child with SEN statement
Teacher (Ms. Kim)
In what ways
Thinking
Mostly inclusive
Inconsistent
Consistent
Action
Inclusive
Inclusive (71)
-Holds open-ended view on learning potential.
-Focuses on what pupils can do.
-Creates opportunities available for all.
-Ensures everybody's participation.
-Respects unique needs and support flexibly.
-Allows more support to wide range of pupils.
Exclusive (6)
Additional/different strategies needed for some.
Inclusive
-Teacher's support is constant, spontaneous and proactive and is applied to every individual.
-Pupil's autonomy is encouraged and respected.
-To include C, level of difficulty and rule changes were implemented with input from assistant.
Valued and used with interaction
How to See
Interaction
How to fit
Good match with higher expectation
Assistant (Ms. Lee)
Responsibility
Has wide range of experience (over 12 years) and a well-grounded understanding of pupils.
How applied?
Practice
-Provides constant, proactive and pupil-centered support (Routine for C's participation is set up by assistant)
-Available to help others.
-Natural interaction with pupils in context of helping C.
-Support for C is naturally discussed on teacher's initiatives.
-Nature: task and personal support.
The teacher's Practice (Principle 1, 2)
Work of support assistant
How do they work together? (Principle 3)


CASE 5
Class Practice
Everyone is recognised and engaged in the lesson. Individual learning needs are addressed in a ways that benefit all. Pupil's own decision-making is encouraged and their opinions are respected. The teacher and the Native-speaking teacher are available to teach and support everyone. Assistant mainly supports C. Assistant's work is respected by teacher and decisions on support are left to assistant's own discretion.
Subject: English
C: Child with SEN statement
Teacher
(Ms. Lee)
In what ways
Inclusive (57)
-Believes that everyone grows and learns together and is equally responsible for building class community.
-Believes in her own capacity to prompt learning potential that everyone has.
-Considers mutual support and quality of relationship to be significant.
-Engages with SCT to discuss C's assessment.
Thinking
Inclusive
Inconsistent
Consistent
Action
Inclusive
Inclusive
-Continually creates opportunities to include all.
-Responds to needs of any as benefit to all.
-Gives attention to all; support is available to all.
-Encourages pupils to construct knowledge.
Valued without discussion
How to See
Interaction
How to fit
Works well for C's participation
Assistant (Ms. Choi)
Responsibility
Happily supervised by the Special Class Teacher through career (12 years).
Most communication with class teacher is through SCT.
Potentially available to any pupil.
How applied?
Practice
-Exclusively focused on helping C.
-Gives consistent and intensive support on set routine, in 1:1 context to help C participate.
-Hardly communicates with other pupils.
-Observes C in group/pair work
-Nature: Academic support.
The teacher's Practice (Principle 1, 2)
Work of support assistant
How do they work together? (Principle 3)


CASE 6
Class Practice
Every pupil is actively engaged in lesson. Spontaneous and proactive support is given widely by the teacher in the course of the lesson. The teacher applies class rules equally to everyone, monitors learning progress and interacts with all pupils. Peer support is well established and used effectively for everyone's learning and participation.
Subject: Math, Social Studies, Art.
C: Child with SEN statement
Teacher
(Ms. Oh)
In what ways
Inclusive (52)
-Holds open-ended view on everyone's learning potential.
-Makes learning opportunities equally available to all.
-Believes in own capacity to promote everyone's learning.
-Has desire, on own initiatives, to work with assistant for the benefit of all.
Thinking
Mostly inclusive
Exclusive (3)
-Struggles to develop partnership working with assistant.
Inconsistent
Consistent
Action
Inclusive
Inclusive
-Constantly makes effort to include all pupils while giving a lot of flexible and constant individual attention.
-Finds every opportunity to interact individually with pupils, including C whose verbal expression is very limited.
-C's routine is set by the teacher according to lesson context.
Disregarded
How to See
Interaction
How to fit
Hardly used
(Support hours are minimised by the teacher.)
Assistant
(Mr. Park)
Responsibility
Wide range of experience over 12 years and well-grounded understanding of pupils' life.
How applied?
Practice
-Observation not available due to change in timetable.
The teacher's Practice (Principle 1, 2)
Work of support assistant
How do they work together? (Principle 3)

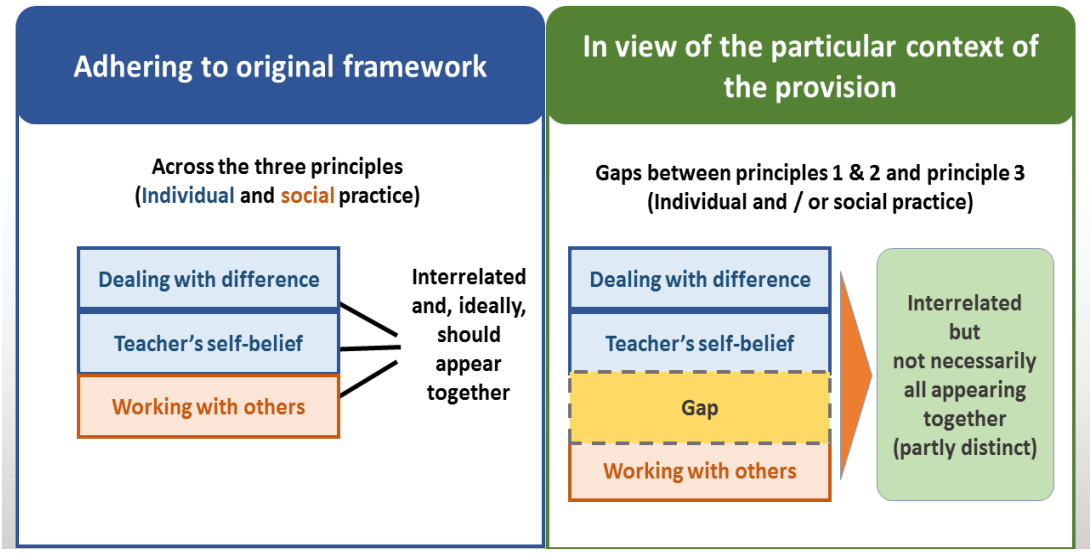

CASE 7
Class Practice
Parallel expertise between general and special education is applied to different groups of pupils. Most pupils are taught by the teacher but C is in charge of the assistant. The teacher occasionally creates the opportunity for everyone to participate in P.E. activity.
Subject: P.E., Extra Curricular Subject, Family.
C: Child with SEN statement
Teacher (Ms. Han)
In what ways
Inclusive (17)
-Considers difficulties in learning to be her challenge.
-Values the work of assistant.
Exclusive (44)
-Ceiling on capacity based on deterministic belief on ability.
-Teaching SEN-pupils needs special knowledge and expertise- not class teacher's responsibility.
Thinking
Mixture
Inconsistent
Consistent
Action
Mixture
Inclusive
Makes an effort to include all (changes rules and intervenes in peer squabble involving C).
Exclusive
Most pupils are taught by the teacher. Individual support is provided occasionally.
Respected as own special expertise
How to See
Interaction
How to fit
Works well for C's learning and participation
Assistant (Ms. Shin)
Responsibility
-With 5yrs experience, has well-grounded understanding of diverse needs and complex dynamics of class.
-Potentially available to any pupil and widely respected by school staff.
How applied?
Practice
-For C's participation, gives constant, intensive and sophisticated support, uses various prompts set by routine.
-Actively involves peer support for C in natural interaction with a range of pupils.
-Nature: various (task, behavioural, personal and social support).
The teacher's Practice (Principle 1, 2)
Work of support assistant
How do they work together? (Principle 3)

5.3.3. Patterns of class practice according to the principles of the IPAA

With regard to patterns of practice, the modified IPAA framework was of great value in explaining the complexity of the phenomena systematically and was flexible enough to accommodate the evidence emanating from this particular research context. Codes applied well to the rationale behind teachers' words and actions. To identify the pattern of practice within each case, particularly in a case showing a mixture of inclusive and exclusive thinking and action, the frequent appearance of codes served to reveal the pattern and to indicate in what way thinking and actions were inclusive or not. Common features of inclusive or non-inclusive practice across different cases could also be identified by code descriptions in the framework.

The aspects of practice under Principle 1 (Dealing with difference) and Principle 2 (Teacher's self-belief) were usually apparent in individual practice but the third principle (Working with others), which this study particularly focused on, was relational and affected by external circumstances. The first two are more internal and individual whereas the third covers social practice in terms of involving other professionals in practice.

(Figure 5-5) The pattern of practice in line with three principles of IPAA framework



As seen from the figure above, the pattern is separable into two compartments. Some cases which belong to the first "Adhering to original framework" lend themselves to expression in conventional terms which show consistency between the three principles. Others which belong to the second "In view of the particular context of the provision", do not.

5.3.3.1. All three principles in alignment

With regard to 'working with others', inclusivity, exclusivity, or co-existence between the two in the same case appeared consistently across the three principles. In other words, the focus of this study, the practice of 'working with others' yielded findings in line with the other two principles, 'dealing with difference' and 'teacher's self-belief'. Consistency did not mean that the pattern of practice was entirely inclusive or exclusive, even according to the frequency of appearance of codes, but rather that the general flow of the practice was the same under each principle. The examples below show relatively consistent features across the principle even though there are various instances of complexity between and within thinking and practice.

<Highly inclusive practice>

CASE 5

- Number of codes from teacher interview.

	Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3	Total
Inclusive	24	20	12	56
Not inclusive	0	0	0	0
Neutral	0	0	1	1

The teacher consistently showed her inclusive perspective and inclusive practice. She considered every member of the class to be equally involved in learning and growing. She tried to provide every opportunity to all of the pupils to construct knowledge and to build relationships with all the members of the class community, teacher, co-teacher, assistant and pupils.

Support from all and to all worked as a main driver in developing the dynamics of the class and was based on making the effort to understand the needs of others. The teacher's understanding of pupils and the way she shaped her class community had developed over time as she had reflected on her experiences of working with pupils with various needs. From her perspective, all involved, including teacher and assistant, were learning and could contribute to the moulding of the class community.

- Pattern of practice (Observation): codes indicating inclusive practice apply consistently.

Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3
1E1	2E6, 2E7, 2E9,	3E1, 3E7
She constantly created learning opportunities for all while meeting the needs of individuals. Her teaching and support responded promptly to individual needs in such a way as to benefit all in the context of the lesson.	Her support was flexible and responsive and was adjusted to circumstances, not only to whoever was finding difficulty but also on how to challenge them further. Based on human dignity, the development of the whole child was respected and valued.	She actively worked with the co-teacher in a partnership based on mutual support. She respected the assistant's work. She monitored everyone's learning progress with support from the assistant and from the co-teacher.

<Relatively exclusive practice>

CASE 3

- Number of codes from teacher interview.

	Principle 1	Principle2	Principle3	Total
Inclusive	5	3	2	10
Not inclusive	13	15	14	42
Neutral	0	0	0	0

Based on a deterministic view of ability, the teacher did not teach or attend to the pupil with SEN. She thought that some learners required specific support by specialists and were not her responsibility. She had a set approach to disabilities and difficulties. She did not find support assistance useful and felt that working with an assistant was an imposition. She showed some confusion about roles between herself and the assistant and between the assistant and pupils. That appeared consistently across the three principles.

- Pattern of practice (observation): codes indicating non-inclusive practice were consistently applied.

Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3
1E2, 1E11, 1E13	2E2, n2E2, 2E4, 2E12,	3E5, 3E8
Based on deterministic belief, academic ability was considered to be the main indicator of the ability of a learner to choose an activity. Based on that belief, the lesson plan and learning environment were aimed at mainstream learners, excluding the pupil with SEN.	She required pupils to engage in activities at pre-determined levels. She assigned a certain task to pupils of high academic ability and said 'This activity is only for clever and knowledgeable pupils' (p.4) She saw severe difficulty (SEN) as a deficiency in the learner, who thus was not her responsibility but the assistant's.	Because the work of teacher and assistant were parallel, there was no collaboration. Participation and engagement of the SEN pupil were left to the assistant. Neither assistant nor assisted pupil actively engaged in the lesson.

<Co-existence across the principles>

CASE 7

- Number of codes from teacher interview.

	Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3	Total
Inclusive	8	3	6	17
Not inclusive	13	18	13	44
Neutral	0	0	1	1

In general, the teacher took responsibility for responding to difficulties in learning and made an effort to create an environment for pupils to participate in class activities. However, those were not applied to the pupil with SEN but only to the others (who were, in her opinion, capable). She divided pupils on the basis of a deterministic belief in ability. Essentially, pupils who had severe difficulties (SEN) were not given her attention and she thought that special knowledge was required to educate those 'incapable learners'.

She accepted the work of the assistants and readily rendered responsibility for the SEN pupil. She did not question policy on support assistance and showed hesitation about the

availability of assistance to the whole class. She considered those issues to be beyond her remit as a teacher. In her perspective, assistants should be in charge of the teaching, support and wellbeing of 'special' pupils. The assistant's capacity to support pupils with SEN was respected but such assistance was to be kept separate from her and the other 'normal' pupils. When the assistant was not present, however, she made an effort to include the SEN pupil by providing more video-audio stimulus and physical activities, not only to encourage the SEN pupil but also for the benefit of others (*everybody approach*).

- Pattern of practice: observation: co-existence of the codes appeared across the three principles.

Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3
1E1,1E14, n1E1	2E3, 2E4, n2E2	3C4, 3E1
On one occasion, she created a learning opportunity for everyone in P.E. In that activity, the level of engagement and the turn of runners were decided by the pupils. For the SEN pupil, most decisions involving engagement were left to the assistant, who was considered to be an expert in special education.	When the teacher supported certain pupils, without seeking their opinion, she decided the level of their engagement in the activity (2E4) based on her fixed view of support determined by disability and difficulty.	The work of the assistant and the teacher proceed in parallel. The teacher valued the work of the support assistant, but only as a specialist for the SEN pupil. The assistant provided a range of support for that pupil. She also interacted with other pupils to include the pupil in the class community.

5.3.3.2. The three principles inter-related but not appearing together consistently

The practice of 'working with others' can be a distinct form of a teacher's teaching practice. Despite the connection between the three principles, there is a gap between the individual dimension of practice (Principles 1 and 2) and the social dimension of practice in terms of 'working with others' in the classroom (Principle 3). The three principles are interrelated but do not always appear together. An individual dimension of inclusive practice may not extend to the social dimension or vice versa. Both dimensions, individual and social, accommodate the development of practice and have the potential, combined, to create ideal inclusive practice (covering the three principles). Although any particular practice may not fit the framework perfectly, inclusive teaching practice or inclusive social practice may indicate what could be achieved if inclusion was observed under all three principles.

<Developing inclusive practice through “autonomy”>

CASE 6

- Number of codes from teacher interview.

	Principle 1	Principle2	Principle3	Total
Inclusive	19	21	12	52
Not inclusive			3	3
Neutral			5	5

This teacher’s views on difficulties and differences were consistently inclusive throughout the induction meeting and the interview. However, as seen in the table, in Principle 3, there was an obvious clash between her belief in inclusive education and support assistance. Consequently, she chose not to involve the assistant or allowed minimal support by an assistant.

- Pattern of practice (observation)

Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3
1E1, 1E12, 1E14	2E1, 2E5, 2E6, 2E9, 2E11, n2E1	
The teacher provided tasks to ensure sufficient learning opportunities for all and constantly monitored and encouraged pupils based on what each could do. While questioning and interacting with pupils, she provided a wide range of opportunities for them to construct knowledge (e.g., deciding the form of peer support and how to construct partner work, which learning materials to choose, how to correct answers, etc.)	Part of the lesson involved questions and interaction between individual pupils and the teacher. She constantly asked pupils whether they needed help. The teacher was available to help any pupil by clarifying points, monitoring progress and answering general questions. She provided help (by verbal prompts or modelling) or arranged other support (peer support) based on the circumstances. She had prepared and reflected on lesson plans. A routine for the pupil with SEN was set up according to his needs and the class context. What was to be taught and how were gauged on the basis of what pupils could do. Support by the teacher was varied and prompt.	Throughout the lessons, she invited pupils’ contributions. There was no assistant but collaboration between pupils was natural. Asking help from teacher, peer support and partner work were natural functions in the class. There were circumstances in which more support was needed, but there was not one specific pupil who exclusively required help.

Inclusive practice may be seen as something which develops in the course of teaching and supporting. A particular case, *Case 6,* may serve as an illustration. The teacher’s inclusive practice at individual level had not expanded to social practice by her personal choice. In individual teaching, her practice was inclusive. Her thinking too was highly inclusive. So, in order to exercise inclusive responsibility without contravening formal policy, under which a support assistant was attached to one pupil, she simply minimised the assistance. That approach is consistent with the finding of a previous study, that teachers’ professional integrity is premised on being able to cope alone, and with a degree

of autonomy, with a class of pupils, with the result that some may miss the opportunity to develop professionalism through collaboration (Davies, Howes, & Farrell, 2008).

<Developing inclusive practice through “partnership”>

CASE 2

- Number of codes from teacher interview.

	Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3	Total
Inclusive	12	4	26	42
Not inclusive	8	18	2	28
Neutral			1	1

Teaching and support between teacher and assistant were distinct but in partnership. The teacher was available to most and spontaneous support was given to them. The teacher’s view ensured that everyone was valued in the class community. However, the assistant was the primary instructor for C and was potentially available to support any other pupil. The teacher and assistant respected each other and valued their own expertise but distinctive knowledge and expertise were seen to be essentially for the pupil with SEN.

– Pattern of practice (observation).

Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3
1E1, 1E2, 1E6	2E2, 2E4, 2E9	3E1, 3E5,
He sometimes made opportunities available to the SEN pupil (non-academic activities, 1E1) but usually did not (academic activities, 1E2). Different or additional contexts and material were provided to the SEN pupil on the assistant’s initiative (1E6).	He provided continuous and spontaneous support to pupils, driven by their needs (2E9), (though usually not to the SEN pupil), and focused on who was to learn the lesson (2E2) based on pre-determined levels (2E4). The SEN pupil was occasionally supported by him when the assistant was struggling to keep up.	He respected the assistant’s decision for the SEN pupil on adjusting the task level, dealing with behaviour and meeting personal needs (3E1). However, that pupil was not an equal member of the class community as she was not primarily under the teacher’s attention (3E5).

In one case observed, social (relational) practice was highly inclusive but the teacher’s teaching was relatively exclusive of the pupil with SEN. Inclusive practice had developed through partnership with the assistant but the evidence showed pervasive exclusive practice despite some inclusive thinking and actions. However, as regards social practice, he worked proactively with the assistant for all of the pupils. In *Case 2*, exclusive thought and actions did not translate generally to exclusive social practice. The teacher relied heavily on the assistant’s expertise and admitted a lack of knowledge and experience. Practice was not completely inclusive and a lack of confidence was a barrier to a high standard of inclusive practice across the three principles. However, his practice could be understood as an unconventional example of inclusive practice developed in a context of partnership.

CHAPTER 6

ENACTMENT of SUPPORT ASSISTANT PROVISION

6.1. Introduction

This study focuses on the implementation of support assistant provision in S. Korean mainstream classrooms and on the extent to which it promotes or prohibits inclusion. The usual practice observed was of teacher and assistant in the same room working independently. There was little evidence of co-operation or 'working with each other', in contrast to what was observed when another professional teacher, e.g. Sports Teacher or Native-English-speaking Teacher, was involved. To understand how support assistance functioned as it did in any particular class, ascertaining the class teacher's view and observing the actual work of the assistant in practice were crucial.

This chapter looks at how the enactment of support assistant provision, the work of support assistants and the class teacher's practice were dealt with separately and together in each case. The diagram in *Figure 5-4* sets this out.

Each case shows the nature and context of support assistance under the headings of the "responsibility" and "practice" of the assistant in the diagram. In 6.2, they were synthesised with collated evidence from the fragments of interviews and observations to show detail regarding the spectrum of the work. The contrasting but compensatory characteristics between autonomy (responsibility and freedom to make pedagogical decisions in 6.3) and dependence (factors affecting the roles in 6.4) of the assistant's work in mainstream classes were discussed. Case numbers are noted in the vignettes and tables which give details.

To view the unique features of each case practice, in 6.5, four cases were chosen and systematically analysed. Obvious conflict and compromise between class factors (teacher's views and practice) and the requirements of official policy were identified. More detail in each case to explain whether and in what ways each case adheres to the official guidelines revealed tensions between teachers' thinking about needs and support and their actual practice. The complexity of the practice in the four cases is discussed. To get a fuller picture of the teacher's thinking and actions in the area under study, data from

class observation and interview fragments were extracted and synthesised against the three principles of the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b).

6.2. The spectrum of support assistance: reference to the WPR model

This study of the practice of support assistant provision looks at what support assistants did, at which pupils were supported in what contexts and at the factors influencing the roles of assistants, all with reference to the modified WPR (Wider Pedagogical Role) model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012).

Under 'Preparedness', practical planning between teacher and assistant seldom took place. As observed, class teachers hardly ever, of their own volition, actively discussed with their assistants how to work for the class. Rather than jointly planning how to support pupils or the teacher assigning roles to the assistant, decisions as to whom to support and how to give support seemed to be in the remit of the assistant. Their responsibilities differed from simply assisting in a given task to actively making pedagogical decisions. 6.3, "Support assistant: responsibilities and pedagogical role", gives more detail. 'Deployment' covered the general activities of the assistant. A related topic was the diversity (or lack of it) in the range of pupils supported. 'Practice' covered interaction between assistant and pupils and between assistant and teacher, i.e. what actually happened, with whom, where and why. Pupils supported generally fell into one of two categories, 1) pupils with SEN entitlement and 2) others.

6.2.1 Support assistance: for pupils with SEN entitlement

As stipulated by the policy and regulations governing support assistant provision, and as all the participating teachers recognised, assistants in S. Korea are deployed solely for SEN pupils. The system itself focuses on remedial work and does not embrace the full range of diversity (Giangreco, 2013). However, this study found variation in the forms of support. Supporting SEN pupils did not always indicate exclusive practice.

Class observation of the deployment of assistants (the activities that they engaged in during lessons) revealed that their roles varied widely. Along with supporting learning and

participation, assistants intervened to deal with behavioural challenges and to help with personal needs. Some assistants taught social skills and encouraged interaction with the SEN pupils' classmates (which involved some interaction between the assistant and those other pupils (see below, *Table 6.1*, (9) & (10) Subject P.E.). *Table 6.1* presents the forms of support observed. As seen in the table below, assistants often used modelling and verbal and physical prompts to encourage pupils with SEN to take part in the learning activities conducted by the class or the subject teacher.

(Table 6.1) Forms, nature and context of support for pupils with SEN

*H or other capital initial: pupil with SEN entitlement *(class observation)*

Nature of support (Code)	Examples from the script.
Task support: Facilitating participation in the activity of the class. (T)	**(1) Subject: Family and P.E. (Case 7)** -When pupils are singing a song called 'Thank You', the assistant holds *H's hand and sings the song with him. (p. 2). -The assistant holds H's hand and writes a note. (pp. 2, 9). -The assistant opens the book at the page with H. (p. 3). - (Before jumping a skipping-rope), *"Let's practise jumping first*." then holds his hand and jumps together with him. (p. 6). --- **(2) Subject: Maths (Case 2)** -While the class teacher is giving individual feedback on Maths homework, the assistant writes something in the text-book while holding C's hand. (p. 2). --- **(3) Subject: English (Case 5)** -Stands in the queue for practising sentences with the native speaker (p. 5). -Writes letters and shows them to C and S to copy into their textbooks or worksheets (pp. 2, 3). -Takes part in the activity (presenting and practising conversation in role play) together with C and S (pp. 2, 4).
Task support: Encouraging pupils to take part. (T)	**(4) Subject: Family and P.E. (Case 7)** -Repeatedly explains what the teacher has said (or asks questions) to help H to understand. (pp. 3, 7, 9, 10). -Gives verbal and physical prompts (modelling). (pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11). -Praises him with a *"Well done!"* to encourage him. (pp. 5, 6. 8, 11). --- **(5) Subject: P.E. (Case 4)** - During Q & A about the rules of the game, explains the game to S. (p. 2). - Before the game, demonstrates several times how to do it. (p. 2). - When S falls down, says, *"It's o.k., just stand up again."* (p. 3). - Asks*, "Shall we choose another activity from the list?"* (p. 3). - When S seems tired after trying his best, says *"Shall we take a rest for a bit?"* Then asks permission from the teacher to take S outside the game area for a rest. (p. 3).
Intervening to deal with	**(6) Subject: Family (Case 3)** - When K is not concentrating, says, *"K, please look at this!"* (p. 3).

behavioural challenges. (B)	- When K keeps shaking his hands, gets him to stop. (p. 3). - When K escapes from his seat or tries to make a noise, tells him, *"This is lesson time, sit down!"* (p. 3). ---------- **(7) Subject: Music and P.E. (Case 3)** - When K is about to leave her seat, gets her to stay. (p. 3). - When K is playing with a beanbag, watches to make sure that she does not put it into her mouth. (p. 5).
Helping with personal needs. (P)	**(8) Subject: Extra Curricular subject (Case 7)** - Tidies up H's belongings (pencil case, school letter and school bag) (pp. 2, 4, 12). - Wipes H's mouth (p. 7). - Takes H to the toilet (pp. 7, 10).
Teaching social skills and manners. (S)	**(9) Subject: P.E. (Case 7)** - Says to H*, "Let's say thank you to your friend who lent you the skipping rope"* (pp. 5, 6). - Tides up the PE facilities and items of apparatus with C. (p. 7).
Encouraging peer support. (PS)	**(10) Subject: P.E. (Case 7)** (To a boy) *"Could you please lend your skipping-rope to H?* (p. 5). (To a boy) *"Can you please show H how to jump over a skipping-rope?* (p. 5). (To a girl) *"I will hold the rope, could you please show H how to skip over the line?* (p. 6). (To a partner of H) *"Please help H."* (p. 6).

6.2.2 Support assistance: benefitting other pupils

The main work of support assistants, as observed, was helping or enabling pupils with SEN to take part in the lessons and class life. To varying degrees, however, support assistance included helping other pupils. For example, the teaching of social skills and the encouraging of peer support for an assisted pupil involved interaction with a range of pupils in a class. Support was also given naturally to any pupils in need.

The range of pupils assisted and the level at which assistance was given varied from assisting the SEN pupil solely, through helping a few or several pupils, to operating as a second teacher for a whole class. Plural roles were often performed simultaneously. Whether by agreement or spontaneously, there were a variety of circumstances in which, as need arose, an assistant provided help to others, from a few pupils sitting near at hand to the whole class. An assistant is often more than just 'a resource' and sometimes played a significant role in meeting pupils' needs. *Table 6.2* below shows the form and context of support provided to other pupils.

(Table 6.2) Forms, nature and contexts of support for others

*S or other capital initial: pupil with SEN entitlement *(class observation)*

Nature of support (Code)	Examples from the script.
Task support: Encouraging pupils to take part. (T)	**(1) Subject: P.E. (Case 1)** - When *S is in the attacking team, the assistant checks every member of the team in order. The order of hitter is 'boy, girl, boy, girl…' and everyone has to get a turn. The assistant gives frequent advice, *"Next one, get ready!" "It's a girl's turn.", "Who is last?"* (Meantime, the teacher is busy teaching each hitter and the defending team what to do). (pp. 2, 3). - When S is in the attacking team, the assistant watches to make sure the order is followed and that each hitter is ready at the right time. To improve their chances (by making the circle smaller for a faster run round) he goes around the team and gets the pupils to queue neatly. (pp. 3, 4, 7, 10, 11). - While the teacher is teaching the defending team, the assistant helps each hitter to adopt a good stance. He points out good positions for effective attack. After a hitter has hit the ball, he gives a physical prompt to the runner and sometimes runs with the runner. (p. 10). --- **(2) Subject: P.E. (Case 4)** - Before the game, she demonstrates several times how to do it and shows S's partner, who is struggling, what to do and gives support. (p. 2).
Intervening to deal with behavioural challenges. (B)	**(3) Subject: Music (Case 3)** - When a boy near her is making a noise, the assistant gets him to stop by saying *"Shush!"* (p. 2).
Helping with personal needs. (P)	**(4) Subject: P.E. (Case 1)** - One girl sat on a spectator seat right from the start. The assistant took time to check that she was alright (p. 6). - A boy fell while playing. The assistant checked his condition a bit later on. (p. 7).

The rationale for observed practice emerged at the assistant interviews. Most of the assistants recognised that pupils' needs were diverse and complex and that teachers could not be available to respond to every individual need. All of them had various experience of helping other pupils in their classes, either naturally in response to an obvious need in various circumstances or on their own initiative. The assistants found, broadly, that offering help more widely was to the benefit not only of the assisted pupil(s) but also of the pupil with SEN.

There are three main situations in which assistance was given more widely.

First, circumstances or an incident might attract an assistant's attention. Those circumstances might be academic, pastoral, behaviour or related to a personal need. For

instance, an assistant might see a pupil in a dangerous situation or might see a quarrel between pupils. Most assistants found that their intervention in such situations had positive repercussions for them, for the SEN pupils, and for the whole class. Helping other pupils demonstrated that anyone could benefit from assistance (Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012), with the result that the pupil with SEN was supported by classmates, particularly when the assistant was not present. Moreover, the assistants themselves then felt that they belonged to the class community. The following vignette from assistant interviews give examples.

Vignette 1. Helping others: on assistant's own initiative

Assistant interviews

Pastoral needs: the assistant is friendly with other pupils and makes an effort to help any of them.

Ms. Kim, Case 2

(F/Q) I help class pupils like a mum rather than providing academic support. For example, I show them how to tidy up and clean the classroom when they have to do that. At lunch, sometimes the rice has hardened, so I deal with that so that it can be distributed onto the plates. When the noodles are too sticky, I add water so that they too can be put onto plates. I clip their nails when they want. If I find a hole in a pupil's clothes, I darn it. When they have concerns or something to talk to me about, I try to be a good listener.

Dealing with safety issues and behaviour: assistant holds responsibility for assisted pupil but is widely available to anyone.

Ms. Lee, Case 4

(p. 6) When pupils go on a field trip, a lot of support is required. Actually, there have been a range of occasions on which I have supported class pupils. For example, in swimming lessons, a class teacher did not come into the pool and I was the only adult in the water. Sometimes I was confused as to who had priority for my support, the SEN pupil or the others. However, I could not ignore behavioural problems, dangerous situations and quarrels between pupils. I also try to stand up for them and be a good listener. I interact a lot with them.

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(F/Q) I recognise that my main job is to support the SEN pupil through the 40-minute period but the amount of time I give to the SEN pupil differs according to the activity. I observe the SEN pupil and, if I find that the pupil is having difficulty or if she/he asks me for help, I give support then rather than giving extensive help from the start of the activity. In the meantime, other class pupils who usually have difficulty ask me for help and I help them. There is a range of group work, so I support pupils who are in the same group as the SEN pupil.

The assistant gives help to pupils sitting near at hand and struggling to do a task.

Ms. Choi, Case 5

(p. 6) When the pupils were learning how to make a purse and practising sewing, one pupil sitting in front of S was finding it difficult. I helped him and he was happy about that.

Second, pupils may ask for help directly when the assistant is near them or when the teacher is not available to help them. Ms. Shin (the assistant in *Case 7*) told of detailed situations in which she had given extended help in various subjects and activities. A wide range of academic support was provided when sought by pupils. She proactively engaged in learning and participation to support other pupils along with the SEN pupil. The assistant in *Case 4* added short comments. Those two assistants reacted to circumstances in which the amount of individual attention available from the class teacher was limited. The assistant in *Case 5* at interview provided the interesting point that, even when she gave support to the assisted SEN pupil, it was naturally helpful for other pupils with different needs. Need might arise for different reasons and be dealt with by the assistant without extra effort.

Vignette 2. Helping others: requests from pupils

Assistant interviews

Ms. Shin, Case 7: Detailed examples of academic support.

(p. 8) Pupils often come and ask me to help them. There are 25 pupils and it is impossible for the class teacher to give support on every single point. (In the past in one class) some wanted help from the teacher but, if the queue was too long, then they came to me. I think it is right to help them. If the class teacher is supportive, I am more active. If not, I am more careful.

(F/Q) *I support pupils mainly in these subjects: Science, PE, Art, Computing, PCE (Practical Course Education) and English. The need for support varies according to the subject. In science, pupils have asked me about the order of an experiment or when they have struggled to understand how to write an experiment observation note. In PCE, when they were learning how to knit and sew, I was asked for a lot of support. Boys especially found difficulty in knitting and sewing, so that required individual teaching and support. The teacher alone was not able to cope with that due to the limited time available, so I taught them how to do it - holding their hands - sometimes even during break time with 3-4 boys.*

In Art, some pupils in lower grades were finding difficulty in origami. Without understanding the initial stage, they were not able to move onto the next step, so I was asked to give immediate help. In English, pupils usually do related games in the last part of the lesson, to use what they have learned. Because it was English, some pupils were struggling to understand how to manage the game, so I explained and, at the same time, encouraged the SEN pupils to take part. In Computing, when pupils were finding difficulty in drawing a graph using Word, they asked me to help. The support differs according to the subject and content of the lesson but those are common examples.

Ms. Lee/ Case 4

(p. 6) When I give support in lower grade year classes, pupils often ask me for help and I give it.

Ms. Choi, Case 5

(p. 5) Apart from S or W (the SEN pupils), other pupils also ask me for help…. When I show my notes (copying words written on the blackboard) to W to let him copy the

letters onto his note, I show them also to other pupils who have bad eyesight and they appreciate that. It gives me pleasure, too.

Third, an assistant might be asked by a class teacher to support another pupil along with or instead of the officially assisted SEN pupil. According to the official guidelines, it is formally not appropriate for an assistant to support other pupils, particularly if that is instead of helping an entitled SEN pupil (see Case 7 in *Vignette 3* below). However, rather than simply noting such practice as a contravention of policy, it might be appropriate to ask the fundamental question "What is assistance for?", particularly in view of the Korean national report (Park et al., 2012) which noted the issue of a population of pupils who needed support but were not formally eligible for it (i.e. they did not have official Statements of Need). *Vignette 3* below show the reality of implementation of the entitlement-based service delivery system. The system does not consider the actual class context and the demand for support that the class teacher has to try to meet.

Vignette 3. Helping others: requests by teachers

Assistant interviews

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(p. 2) In one case, even though I was in the mainstream class to support a SEN pupil, there was a pupil (without SEN entitlement) who displayed extensive behavioural and learning challenges. The class teacher asked me to support him rather than the SEN pupil as the SEN pupil presented no behavioural challenges. It was a P1 class and the class teacher struggled a lot and was not well, so I supported that pupil….. I think it is o.k. to support non-SEN pupils who present various challenges.

Mr. Park, Case 1

(p. 3) There are teachers who want me to provide extended help, especially female teachers in P.E. classes. I give a lot of help in those classes (laughs). They say to me, "Could you please teach the boys?' In P.E., when pupils were learning to play basketball and badminton, a class teacher asked me to demonstrate and then I helped the SEN pupils. (p. 4). I support S (the SEN pupil) three times a week in P.E.. The P.E. teacher treats me like a class assistant. (p. 5). When pupils are learning to play basketball in P4, I mainly teach the boys. For example, when they line up and take turns to shoot, I teach every single boy and encourage them to change their stance for shooting and then I can include the SEN boy quite naturally. (pp. 9, 14) One teacher asked me to support another pupil while she supported the SEN pupil. I think that was because the other pupil required more support so the teacher gave me that responsibility.

6.3. Support assistants: responsibility and pedagogical role

Support assistance is given primarily in response to the obvious needs of SEN pupils but, in the classes observed, much like the diverse support assistant practice, from being kept in the dark to taking a high level of responsibility mentioned by Corbett (2001), the frequency, duration and level of that engagement varied widely. Practice was personal and individual and a wide spectrum was observed, from sitting as an indifferent companion who passively accepted a class teacher's deterministic belief about SEN, to exercising initiative as a proactive practitioner to promote learning and participation based on a solid understanding of the dynamics of class life, of pupils and of the teacher's methods.

Mr. Park (the assistant in *Case 1*) was an "unrecognised expert" and played a key role both by building routines for entitled pupils and by using his support for the benefit of others. He actively communicated with pupils and was available to anyone who needed help. Ms. Cha (the assistant in *Case 3*), on the other hand, was consistently exclusive and inconsistent in her support and did not attempt to engage in the class lesson. In that case, neither the assistant nor her supported pupil seemed to be a member of the class community and there was little communication between them or other pupils or the teacher. The SEN pupil was given very little support as were the pupils around her. Assistant and pupil were in effect invisible. *Vignette 4* below presents two contrasting examples showing different levels of engagement and responsibility in the class.

Vignette 4. Assistants: different attitudes to responsibility

Analysis of class observation

Mr. Park, Case 1: Helping all pupils to participate in the lesson. (P.E.)

*Pattern of practice: The assistant interacted with a range of pupils and helped in various ways in line with the teacher's lesson and by responding to individual needs.

The assistant supported S both closely and from a distance. He gave S space to be with his friends as much as possible. Individual support was given to pupils as need arose (e.g., assigning order, positions and rules). Besides S, other pupils were supported in a range of contexts. Individual attention helped the game to run smoothly. When the teacher assigned a task to pupils, the assistant noticed it and helped them. Even though his support was focused mainly on S (the pupil with SEN), he spent a lot of time observing what was going on in the lesson and making spontaneous decisions to help pupils. He gradually decreased his level of direct help to S and let him manage by himself as much as possible. He used that time to help other pupils… Supporting the pupils as a group was also often observed. Even though the assistant was never

assigned anything directly by the teacher, he recognised when to give support. He constantly watched the game and saw what kind of help was needed. He was obviously helpful to individuals and to the class.

Ms. Cha, Case 3: Exclusive and limited support. (Art and Music).

*Pattern of practice: Although the assistant tried to help K to take part in the activity, the support did not seem "pupil-centred". Rather than continuing to explain and to encourage K to take part, in the end, she completed the task by herself. She did not seem to be sensitive to K's need to participate.

The assistant gave support to K, but there was little conversation between them. Sometimes the assistant provided a physical prompt but not consistently and K often left her to look at pictures in a book (a text book or her own story book). Often at such times, the assistant would disengage from the lesson and do her own thing or take part in the lesson on her own like any other pupil (e.g., by singing a song or colouring a worksheet). For example, while the pupils were singing a song to the teacher's piano-playing, K was looking at her own storybook and the assistant was reading her own book. Support was mainly in the form of help with personal needs and intervention to deal with behavioural challenges by both K and other pupils.

Some assistants not only gave support but also took more proactive pedagogical roles, such as adjusting the level of a task. As seen in the first example above *Case 1*, as assistants' experience has increased, some have grown in confidence in their roles and have found that their decisions are generally respected by class teachers. Decisions on how exactly to give support in a lesson may also be made by assistants who have begun to build their own patterns of support. *Table 6.3* presents examples from observation of an assistant's pedagogical decisions.

(Table 6.3) Examples of pedagogical decisions by assistants

*S or other capital initial: pupil with SEN entitlement *(class observation)*

Nature of Support (Code)	Examples on the script.
Task support: Facilitating participation in the activity of the class. (T)	**(1) Subject: P.E. (Case 1)** - The positions of the defending team members are constantly changing according to the direction of the ball. The assistant stands with *S, explains what is going on and encourages him. Because S is finding it difficult to understand the game, the assistant moves with S from place to place to catch or to pass the ball in the right place. The distance between assistant and S varies according to situation. (pp. 3, 6, 7, 9)

Task support: Encouraging pupils to take part. (T)	**(2) Subject: Art (Case 2)** - While the other pupils are practising drawing lines on rice paper, the assistant takes C's hand and draws lines with her. After a while, the assistant draws dots on the paper to make the task easier for C. (p. 7) --- **(3) Subject: P.E. (Case 1)** - While the teacher is teaching the defending team, the assistant teaches each hitter to adopt a good stance. He points out good positions for effective attack. After a hitter has hit the ball, he gives a physical prompt to the runner and sometimes runs with the runner. (p. 10) --- **(4) Subject: P.E. (Case 4)** - When S keeps losing the stone from his foot due to his physical difficulty, says, *"Shall we start from here (half-way between the start and the turning point)?"* (p. 3) - (When S is still struggling) *"How about putting the stone on your shoulder instead of your foot?"*

As seen in *Case 2* (Art), the assistant decides to adjust the level of the task for the assisted pupil. When the pupil is struggling to draw lines on the rice paper, the assistant draws dots on the paper to make the task easier. In *Case 4* (P.E.), when the pupil is struggling to carry a stone on his foot due to physical difficulty, the assistant suggests that he put the stone on his shoulder and start at mid-point between start and turning point.

Assistant interviews added more examples of assistants' taking a range of pedagogical decisions. Although the official guidelines stipulate that assistants must not take teachers' roles such as teaching and evaluating (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2015), "special" pupils are often effectively excluded from the teaching by the class teacher. As shown below in *Vignette 5*, responsibility for decisions regarding an assisted pupil's learning and participation was often left to the assistant. Assistants were more active professionally than class teachers in terms of supporting and teaching pupils with SEN.

Vignette 5. Pedagogical decisions by the assistant

Assistant interviews

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(p. 5) I make most of the decisions regarding how to support the pupil according to the content of the lesson and the pupil's condition. The class teacher's suggestion to me about how to give support would amount to less than 10% of it… (p. 7) When I teach a SEN pupil, for example, I adjust the level of the difficulty of the task. I never discuss that with the class teacher. I have never been told the content of a lesson in advance. I figure out situations on the day and try to locate myself to support each pupil.

Ms. Lee, Case 4

(p. 7) Regarding the form of support I give, and particularly with regard to respecting a pupil's independence, I make decisions by using knowledge acquired through experience. I have been through a formal training programme but the situations are very diverse. (p. 2) Teachers are occupied in leading the whole class so they let me do it (deal with behavioural challenges). At the start of term, I tell them what I will do when a behavioural problem occurs and they allow me to do that. (p. 3) The level of difficulty of any activity is adjusted according to my judgement. We don't know how the lesson is going to be. Nor does the Special Class Teacher (SCT). I am the person who is there (in the class) and I will have a notion as to how to adjust it (for the SEN pupil). In team play, sometimes I suggest how S might participate without bothering anyone. (p. 5) Last year, when I supported H, the class teacher relied on me to decide how to support him. I had to consider where to pitch the level of difficulty.

Mr. Park, Case 1

(p. 1) My role and the amount of support I give are usually decided according to the ability of the pupil and her/his physical condition. I consider those and decide how to support him/her. The SCT gives me information about the pupil, such as what he/she likes and what his/her characteristics are. (p. 2) I consider those factors if the pupil finds difficulty in taking part in a lesson. The SCT, however, does not know the situation in the mainstream class so she has to ask me about that. (p. 5) The support given is decided by me as the lesson is in progress. (p. 7) For example, when class pupils are playing basketball (in P.E.) and take turns to shoot but the SEN pupil is finding it difficult, I ask permission from the class teacher to ease the level of difficulty or I suggest an easier activity to the class or subject teacher and he(she) usually allows me to make the change.

Interestingly, assistants reported that, even though they generally took teaching responsibility for pupils with SEN, the reason for that was not always a teacher's negative attitude or deliberate intention to exclude an SEN pupil but rather ignorance on the part of the teacher about how to include that pupil. One class teacher who was not confident about trying to include an SEN pupil in the work of the class was encouraged to do so by an assistant who had sufficient confidence to challenge the (receptive) teacher and sufficient knowledge of the pupil to be able to advocate that. In that case, the assistant acted as adviser to the teacher. Further examples of that are given below. Both assistants in the vignette below suggested to teachers that a pupil with SEN be included in class activities.

Vignette 6. Helping teachers: advising the class teacher

Assistant interviews

Mr. Park, Case 1

(pp. 5, 6) Whenever I go into a class at the start of term (including this year and last year), I find that class teachers do not give an SEN pupil a class duty (e.g., cleaning the classroom). Then I suggest that the SEN pupil is given a duty like the other pupils.

The class teachers' responses have been very positive. They have said that they thought that the SEN pupil could not do it but that they would give him/her the chance. Usually, class teachers assume that the SEN pupils cannot carry out a class duty. When I go into a class, I try to suggest to the class teacher that he/she treats the SEN pupil the same, as far as possible, as the other pupils, including when they are getting a telling off as a class. I think that SEN pupils can do many things that other pupils do. I do not think they need to be excluded because of their SEN entitlement.

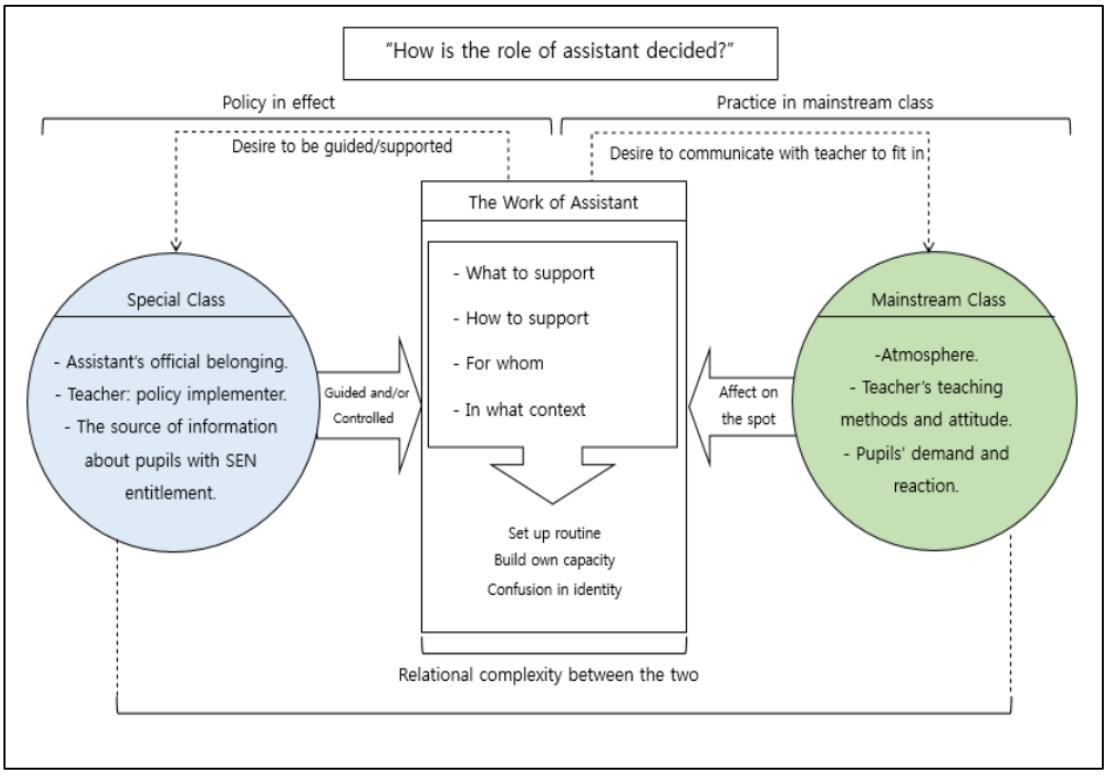
Ms. Choi, Case 5

(p. 9) At the beginning of term, I greet the class teacher and give him/her information about the SEN pupil. The class teachers are positive about that. Some class teachers ignore the SEN pupil and do not give him/her anything to do. Then I ask the teacher to give him/her a chance to take part. Sometimes it works. I try to do what I can for my pupils to be included. Teachers say, "Yes, that would be good." They just do not know how to do it. After a while, I can see that the class teacher is considering the SEN pupil's needs. At the end of term, I have been thanked by class teachers, "Thank you for coming to my class, it helped me to understand him/her (the SEN pupil)."

6.4. Factors influencing the work of the assistant

In the section above on 'Support assistant: responsibility and pedagogical role', it was found that actual decisions about what support to give and how to support were left to the assistant. The level of responsibility taken also varied with the individuals. At the same time, as Jeong (2013) and Thomas et al., (1998) address the complexity of the underpinning values of other stakeholders in working with support assistants, various inter-related perspectives affect the actual role of the assistant in the class. The assistant's official position is not that of qualified teacher and she/he is under the supervision of both Special Class Teacher (formally) and the mainstream class teacher (in the course of work). While an assistant officially belongs to the special education sector, major factors influencing how the assistant will work are the mainstream class's attitude and the mainstream pupils' needs. That is because the SCT is not present in the mainstream classroom and mainstream teachers usually do not seek ways of working together with the assistant. Basically, they consider the support assistant to have different expertise and a different role in which to apply it.

(Figure 6-1) What factors influence the role of assistant?



As may be seen above, the role of the assistant, according to the assistant interviews, is limited or extended according to the preference of the class teachers. General guidance is given by the SCT but immediate decisions about how to give support in a class have to be made by the assistant. The form and amount of support, the range of pupils supported and the context of support to be given in the class are all subject to the decision of, but only rarely discussed with, the mainstream teacher.

6.4.1 The influence of the Mainstream Class Teacher

Special Education Assistant (SEA) policy in S. Korea draws a line between learners with SEN entitlement and others and another line, in professional expertise, between special and general education. How assistants operate in mainstream classes is not officially acknowledged.

The ways in which SEAs operate in practice, as observed in this study, have developed informally through tacit agreement between class teachers and assistants. The ways in which teachers work with assistants appear to be individual and to follow no standard

pattern. Class teachers hardly ever, of their own volition, actively discuss with their assistants how to work in or for the class as other Korean researchers found earlier (Choi, 2009; Park et al., 2012).

However, it was found that although assistants may make a range of pedagogical decisions on their own, their roles are largely and directly influenced by the mainstream class teachers. All the participating assistants saw class teachers as the main variable determining whether an SEN pupil and assistant would be meaningfully included in a class community. Class teachers decide even whether an assistant will be allowed into the classroom at all and, if so, when and for what duration. Some tend passively or tacitly to disapprove of the presence and activity of an assistant. The assistant, rather than having formal or informal discussion with the class teacher for guidance, generally has to figure out the relationship and how to work under it. Ms. Kim (the *Case 2* assistant) said that her presence was resisted by one class teacher as follows:

(p. 1) "*My work is quite steady, but it depends on the class teacher. When C was in P2, the class teacher let me decide how to support her….. When she was in P3 and P4, the class teacher asked me not to stay in the classroom….*"

More specifically, the class teacher's attitude sets the boundaries of support assistance, i.e., the assistant's role and the range of pupils to be supported.

Where a teacher was concerned about the engagement of an SEN pupil and was positive about support assistance, the assistant was able, on her/his own initiative, to provide more proactive support. In that situation, both the SEN pupil and the assistant were confident in their membership of the class community. On the other hand, where assistants described situations in which a class teacher was indifferent, "shadow", meaning 'unnoticed', was a commonly used term. In those situations, assistants and pupil were not given any recognition and the assistant's role was limited.

Where a teacher's attitude was rigid, the assistant's role was carefully and deliberately restricted to helping the pupil with SEN. Where a teacher's attitude to helping others was positive, the scope of the assistant's support naturally broadened. That tallies with earlier research conclusions: 1) that a teacher has discretion not only about how to teach pupils but also about how to use educational provision (assistance) (Hart, 2004) and 2) that a teacher effectively decides the role of a support assistant and how assistance is to be used (Warhurst et al., 2014). The vignette from the assistant interviews from five cases reveal the impact of the class teacher on the participation of pupils with SEN and other pupils and on the place of the assistant in the class.

Vignette 7. Class teacher influence regarding support for pupils

Assistant interviews

Influence on the role in supporting an SEN pupil and on the assistant's belonging to the class.

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(p. 4) SEN pupils are hugely affected by their class teacher. There was one girl who had cerebral hemiplegia. When she was in P2, the class teacher was indifferent to her. S was o.k. but she had no desire to learn - she was just like a shadow. At that time, my help did not achieve much and she showed no reaction to me. I completed many tasks which should have been done by S and I often had to read the class teacher's face for her mood. When S was in P3, the class teacher constantly encouraged her to take part in all activities regardless of what she achieved. She kept saying "Well done". S was hugely changed. I saw that she started making progress in every aspect, writing, reading, art and PE. Even though she struggled to use scissors and glue due to her condition of cerebral hemiplegia, she was keen to try even though the outcome was not great. I was able to give a range of help and it was fruitful. I was happy about that.

Ms. Kim, Case 2

(p. 1) My work is quite steady but it depends on the class teacher….. (p. 3) When C was in P5, she and I were like shadows (unnoticed). We were not recognised. The class teacher let me do everything and did not get involved. Now, in P6, the class teacher lets C take part in everything.

Ms. Lee, Case 4

(p. 8) Sometimes my support is limited by the class teacher. I may want to give an opinion about how to support a pupil, e.g., to teach independent life skills but, if the class teacher considers the safety issue to be more important, she will just have me hold the pupil's hand wherever we go. Even though I know the pupil better as I have seen and supported her/him in various situations, I have to follow the teacher's direction.

Ms. Choi, Case 5

(pp. 3, 4) There are some teachers, however, who are indifferent. Then I usually simply enter and leave the class with the SEN pupil… Sometimes they behave as if I was not in the class. Even when I say an initial "Hello", I get no reaction.

Influence on the range of pupils supported by the assistant.

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(p. 8) My role is hugely affected by the class teacher. It also takes time to figure out the teacher's characteristic style. In one case, I helped non-SEN pupils without noticing the teacher's resistance. In an opposite case, I supported only the SEN pupils but realised later that the teacher had wanted me to help other pupils. I would say that teachers have a stake in all situations involving assistants. (F/W) There are some class teachers who are openly positive about my helping a wider range of pupils. They appreciate my assistance. Others do not like it and think that I am invading their space. Early in my career, I struggled to figure out the character of the class teacher. Now, at the beginning of term, I ask the class teacher what range of pupils she/he wants me to support.

Mr. Park, Case 1

(p. 3, 12) Some class teachers do not feel comfortable with me. Then I support only the SEN pupil. In one case, after a while, I found that, once I appeared in the class, the class pupils excluded the SEN pupil (because) he was identified by them as someone who worked only with me. I wanted to support other pupils in the class too but I felt that the class teacher was against my doing that…. (on the other hand,)(p. 3) There are teachers who want me to provide extended help, especially female teachers in P.E. classes……. (p. 5) When pupils are learning to play basketball in P4, I mainly teach the boys. For example, when they line up and take turns to shoot, I teach every single boy and encourage them to change their stance for shooting and then I can include the SEN boy quite naturally.

6.4.2 Special Class Teacher's influence and the subsequent relational complexity

The position of the Special Class Teacher in mainstream school was created to effect educational inclusion for SEN pupils (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012). SCTs were assigned to be the official key implementers of support assistant provision. The SCT's part in promoting the inclusion of an SEN pupil is to negotiate with the mainstream class teacher and, with that class teacher's agreement, to set up and adjust a timetable of support assistance in the mainstream class. The assistant is given general guidelines about the support required and information about the pupil. At the level of practice in class, collaboration between SCT and mainstream class teacher is considered to be an optional addition to their standard responsibilities. Most participant class teachers consider themselves to have no authority over assistants because assistant are answerable to SCTs, even though SCTs may have little idea, and no first-hand knowledge, of what happens in the mainstream classroom (because the SCT does not attend mainstream classes where most support assistance is given).

The authority of the SCT may be a barrier to partnership between mainstream class teachers and assistants in mainstream classes. For example, a class teacher's request to an assistant to help a pupil who was having difficulty (but who did not have SEN entitlement) was considered to be wrong by the SCT. *Vignette 8* below gives details.

Vignettes 8. The Special Class Teacher's influence on the assistant's role

Assistant interviews

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(p. 2) When the Special Class Teacher (SCT) got to know that I had been asked by the class teacher to support a non-SEN pupil who had a behavioural difficulty rather than the SEN pupil, the SCT said to me that that should not have happened: "You (as assistant) are deployed to support pupils with SEN entitlement. Even though a class teacher asked you to support him (the non-SEN pupil), you should not have done it."…

Mr. Park, Case 1

(pp. 9, 14) One teacher asked me to support another pupil while she supported the SEN pupil. I think that was because the other pupil required more support so the teacher gave me that responsibility. In that situation, which I thought wrong, I told the SCT and she said that she would raise it with the class teacher.

Ms. Choi, Case 5

(p. 8) When something happens with the SEN pupil in the mainstream class, I always let the SCT know. The SCT then discusses it with the class teacher. I am not a (qualified) teacher- I am supervised by a teacher and have no authority to teach pupils. After that discussion, if there is anything for me to do, the SCT tells me. If something quite significant happens in the mainstream class, I let the class teacher know and also report it to the SCT. Then she decides whether to discuss it with the class teacher.

As seen above, strict adherence to official guidelines confines support assistance to entitled pupils. Neither class circumstances nor the needs of other pupils are considered. The guarantee of a certain number of hours of support assistance does enable pupils with SEN to take part in learning in mainstream classes but raises questions about the appropriateness of the restrictions. Support is something that anybody may need and a class teacher has responsibility for helping every individual pupil in the class.

Rather than focusing on any individual SCT's limited perspective, it may be fairer to lay blame for the inappropriate process of communication on guidelines (based on a view of support assistance as something special or additional) which do not allow flexibility in practice and which impinge both on active communication between assistant and class teacher and on inclusive practice. It seems ironic that the assistant, who works mainly in mainstream classes and whose work is subject to the authority of the class teacher, is on the staff of a special class and is monitored and supervised by an SCT. It implies that inclusive education is to be achieved by implementation of the special education service. Inclusion is unlikely to be the result of the provision of exclusive services.

The structure leads, moreover, to ineffective communication and complexity in relationships between the professionals. Confusion about the identity of the assistant was often mentioned, in phases such as *"I am sandwiched"*. Complexity in responsibility for

implementing support assistance and subsequent confusion as to the assistant's identity hinder not only the effective delivery of support assistance but also the building of partnerships between support assistants and class teachers. Their practices are parallel and there is influence (whether in one direction or both), but they hardly ever work together. The vignette below show the dichotomy between the actual provision of support in the mainstream class and official implementation at special class by the SCT.

Vignette 9. Relational complexity among professionals

Assistant interview

Ms. Shin, Case 7

(p. 6) This is the most difficult issue that I face. Usually, a class teacher or parent shares news about an SEN pupil with me because they are familiar with me and we spend a long time together - but that makes the SCT unhappy… I support H (a SEN pupil) 8hours per week. I see the class teacher every day and I know the details of the classroom circumstances and I have been in a lot of complex situations….. It is natural that the class teacher talks to me about the (SEN) pupil. When I mentioned this to the SCT, she did not like it. She thought that any discussion with regard to the SEN pupil should have been with her, not me… Anyway, that (class teacher discussion with SCT) hardly happens because it is impossible for the class teacher to share every detail with the SCT. When the class teacher asked me about my availability to support an SEN pupil for an upcoming field trip, I discussed this with the SCT but she was upset. She said that that had been done in the wrong order. She thought that she should have been told by the class teacher first and then I (as assistant) should have been assigned to that duty by her (the SCT).

(p. 7) When the field trip finished late, I could have let her (the SEN pupil's) parents know about the delayed arrival but I had to do it through the SCT. I cannot understand it. The photos of pupils that I took in the field trip, I had to send through her, too. Even though I explained the ineffectiveness of the communication, it made no difference… It is just that I am an assistant and she is a qualified teacher.

(p. 6) When I am asked about the SEN pupils by a class teacher, especially at the beginning of term, I try to explain everything I know. But I am between two teachers, the SCT and the class teacher, so I say to the class teacher that, if she wants more detailed information, she should ask the SCT. (p. 8) The SCT does not know the situation in the mainstream classroom, so she is not able to give me accurate feedback or guidance on support assistance. I am sandwiched between two teachers and I belong (officially) to the special class.

6.5. Class practice in the structure of official policy

All seven teachers interviewed showed a lack of ownership regarding the implementation of support assistance. ‘A mainstream class teacher working with a support assistant’ is not an aspect of conventional practice provided for in S. Korean schools. The pattern of each class’s practice is developed by the class teacher and assistant without formal preparation or communication. Moreover, any of a range of situations may require support from whoever in the class is able to give it (teacher, assistant or other professionals). It seems important, therefore, to understand how support assistance functions in the context of a teacher’s response to pupils’ needs. As discussed earlier, although what support assistants do in classes is generally decided on the spot by the assistants themselves, class teachers are the most powerful stakeholders in decisions as to the level of assistance to be given and the range of pupils to be assisted. Hence, how teachers respond to learners’ needs is an essential part of this research.

The absence of formal standard practice has led to variety, confusion and a lack of confidence among teachers about their current individual forms of practice. Practice varied from that of a teacher who, while acknowledging responsibility for an SEN pupil, did not feel comfortable with that responsibility and did not make an effort to include the SEN pupil in class lessons, to that of a teacher who had already developed strategies and routines to respond to diverse needs to ensure every pupil’s meaningful participation. In each teacher’s practice, to varying degrees, there were contradictions between and within thinking and actions. The diagram figure reveals that consistency and inconsistency in all seven cases (see *Figure 5-4*).

Teachers’ views and practice were examined according to the core ideas elaborated when developing codes based on the IPAA: 1) their understanding of difference, difficulties and learning potential (Principle 1), 2) how they recognised and acted on their responsibility (Principle 2), and 3) and their view of support assistants and the assistants’ work in their classes (Principle 3).

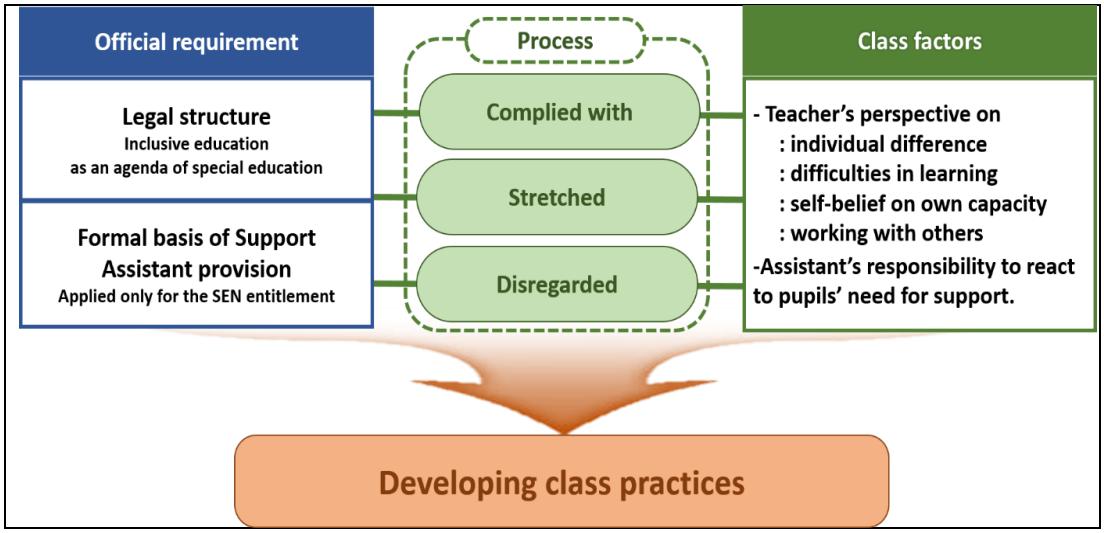
S. Korean official policy is the legal foundation for the form of inclusive education that constitutes this research context. The rationale for the actual practice of any class teacher is to be understood as positioned between official requirements and a class context which may include widely diverse pupils. Overall responsibility for support assistance is held by the Head Teacher as a head of the IEP (Individual Educational Programmes) team.

(Table 6.4) Stipulated role of Special Education Assistant (SEA)

Responsibility.
: Support for pupils with SEN to meet their personal and learning needs and management of behavioural disturbance and other needs (after school activities, school excursions, etc.) under the supervision of the teacher (Special Class Teacher, (mainstream) Class Teacher or Subject Teacher).
Supervision.
: Special Class Teacher (Line manager as official supervisor). : Head Teacher decides the details of roles and the hours of support through the Individual Educational Programmes (IEP) team.

(Pupils Life and Education Department in Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2015)

(Figure 6-2) Developing class practice



Where a teacher's own inclinations are consistent with official policy, support provision is available exclusively to SEN pupils. If a teacher's perspective on inclusive education is not consistent with the official line, she/he may devise her/his own solution in an 'interaction between individual and system' (Mintz & Wyse, 2015). For example, where those concepts conflict, the class teacher tends to either minimise or reject support assistance or (would) maximise it, by making it available more widely in the class. Those positions are not fixed, but keep changing and developing.

The legal structure and the formal guidelines for support assistance are complied with, stretched or disregarded by factors which include teachers' perspectives and pupils' needs for support. *Figure 6-2* shows the ways in which class practices develop. Assistants' levels of responsibility to react pupils' needs which also affect class practice have been discussed in 6.2 and 6.3 above. Here, each of the four cases has been discussed with

the focus on teachers' views and practice as assessed according to the three principles of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011).

6.5.1. Statutory compliance with official policy

Compliant teachers took for granted the division between learners according to Statement of Need. They saw no problem in parallel systems of general and special education based on different expertise and accepted as satisfactory the structure of inclusive education in mainstream schools. In some observed cases, assistants supported SEN pupils exclusively. In *Case 3* below, exclusive support was justified by the teacher's perspective and her practice of responding to learners' needs. K (a pupil with SEN) got hardly any attention from the teacher and was considered to be in the charge of the assistant. All the decisions regarding K were made by the assistant. At times, the assistant did not actively support K and K was obviously not engaged in the lesson and did not attract the teacher's attention. Both the assistant and K were in effect 'invisible'. The class observation note and teacher (Ms Park) interview note below give details.

Vignette 10. Example of class practice adhering to official policy

Class observation/ teacher interview

Case 3

(Analysis of class observation) Neither the assistant nor the pupil with SEN engaged in the lesson.

In general, the teacher and the assistant worked separately and in parallel. Neither the assistant nor the teacher was active in supporting K. The teacher taught the lesson generally and K was not given attention. Except when the assistant raised something with her, the teacher hardly communicated with the assistant or with K. She usually stayed in front of the class but sometimes walked around to see how the pupils were performing a task. However, in the three units, I saw few instances of individual support to any.

The assistant gave support to K but there was little conversation between them. Sometimes the assistant provided a physical prompt but not consistently and she often left K look at pictures in a book (a text book, her own story books or a photo album). Often at such time, the assistant disengaged from the lesson and did her own thing… In P.E., she approached the teacher to ask that K be allowed to take part in the game and to ask permission to adjust the level of difficulty. That was accepted and K took part in the game.

(Teacher interview: Ms. Park) Exclusive perspective under the three principles.

(Principle 1) Difference and difficulty are considered to be special and K is considered to be unable to learn.

(*p. 3) I used to be concerned about what I could do for K (a pupil with SEN entitlement) to encourage her to engage in the class, but I have recently concluded that letting her stay in her seat for the period of the class, 40 minutes, while she observes classmates taking part in the class activities, would be meaningful for her.*

(p. 10) Although I do not know much (about the pupil) as I am not a family member of K, I and colleagues think it would have been more beneficial for K if she had been placed in a special school.

(Principle 2) The class teacher thinks she is not capable of teaching the SEN pupil and does not take responsibility.

(p. 6) Whenever I look at K in the class, I think about what I could do for her but, in the class lesson, I do not put that thinking into practice. I just prepare the lesson for the rest of the class. It is difficult to make an effort to do something for her… I know that resources should be prepared for her according to her interest and her level of learning but I am not sure that I could do that… I think that the Special Class Teacher would be the person to take charge of that.

(Principle 3) The assistant's work is not valued.

(Ind.) I feel pressure when someone (the assistant) watches my lessons. (p. 7) I could do what the support assistant does and just let K remain in her seat. If K had no toileting issue, I would prefer not to have the assistant in my class.

6.5.2. Stretching policy in practice

In other cases, where the teacher considered that all learners were together and passively or actively related to each other, the policy division between special and general education was not applied rigidly. The stretching of formal policy was not unusual and practice then was enhanced by a teacher's inclusive thinking. Even when teacher's perspective was exclusive, support assistance might be universally available in the class to the benefit of more than just the SEN pupil. Contrasting cases might nevertheless have common features.

The example in *Case 5* below is of a stretching of the guidelines justified by a teacher's inclusive thinking. The limited amount of class observation did not include extended applications of support assistance but interview revealed a teacher's view of inclusive education which supported inclusive practice and the wider use of support assistance accordingly.

Vignette 11. Stretching of guidelines by teacher's inclusive view and practice

Class observation and teacher interview

Case 5

(Analysis of class observation) English.

The class was partly led by a native speaker, so one teacher always had more time to give individual attention to pupils. The teacher provided a lot of individual attention while ensuring everyone's participation and support throughout the lesson. She constantly checked on everyone's progress.

Including all of the pupils: The teacher tries to include all of the pupils during the lesson.
- For the benefit of pupils absent during the previous lesson, the teacher encourages the pupils to repeat loudly what they have learned, *"Let's say them (repeat the sentences) loudly!"* - After the native speaker has explained a game, the teacher walks round the class and shows everyone what to do until she is sure that they all understand it. She also gives individual support to two pupils who are struggling. (p. 5). -After the native speaker has gone over the rules of the game, the teacher translates and makes sure that everyone understands. (p. 5).
Individual support – She gives a lot of attention to individuals (task support).
- The teacher walks round the class to monitor each pupil's work (pp. 2, 3). Asks S about what he has written (with the assistant). *"Did you choose curry (in the restaurant scene role-play)?"* (p. 3) - Walks round the class and corrects pupils' sitting postures. (p. 4). - Helps a pupil who has opened the textbook at the wrong page. (p. 4). - Helps two pupils struggling to make sentences for their individual scripts. (p. 2). - Challenges a pupil who is managing easily, *"Could you add more words to describe a sandwich?* (p. 2). - Provides individual feedback to pupils demonstrating conversation. (p. 3). - Intervenes in a behavioural matter when a pupil says to his classmate who is about to try to answer, *"You can't do it!"* (p. 5).

(Teacher interview: Ms. Lee) Inclusive perspective under the three principles.

(Principle 1) Difficulties in learning and differences between pupils are to be dealt with through mutual engagement between teacher and pupils in the whole class community.

(Ind.) I do not see much difference if I compare S with other pupils. (p. 3). I think that differences between pupils such as learning capacity, personality and ways of learning can be challenged and improved by mutual effort by me and the pupils. For example, I took a training course on applying 'drama and role play' to student guidance work… I thought that I was not a person who could manage to do that… Eventually, after 5 years, I applied it throughout the whole of classroom life. I was a witch, the pupils were fairies and the classroom was a magical forest. At first (in March), some pupils felt wired (uncertain)… (But) they got used to it and naturally called me witch, not teacher… At the end of the school term (in November), the pupils eventually found by themselves the magic key which controlled the witch's thinking and behaviour. It was 'trust'… I think that pupils do as well as I do. If I considered myself to be solely a teacher delivering something to pupils, I would be just a knowledge -transmitter. In fact, I would not be

able to deliver as much knowledge as I aimed to. I am growing - like the pupils are. In the meantime, we are all learning.

(Principle 2) The teacher focuses on what she can do for the pupil according to the pupil's preference, not level of ability, and is willing to challenge herself as a teacher.

(p. 11) How best to reinforce learning differs from one (pupil) to another. S is happy to do what I ask him to and copy words after me. When I spoke an English sentence word by word (which other pupils practised as a sentence), he copied me with pleasure. However, two girls who also needed support (not SEN pupils) did not like that method and I give them more time to do it. (p. 8) I have not thought about what amount of support S needs. Yes, he might not need the amount of support that he is given at the moment. I would like to observe and think about it.

(Principle 3) The universal availability of support assistance is justified by the teacher's view of learning, support and the class as a community.

(p. 7) The amount of support provided by the assistant, I think, is determined by the extent to which S communicates with his peers. If communication between them and with me goes well, less support is needed from the support assistant. It does not depend on the level of disability or difficulty that the pupil has…. I consider the whole picture of the class community. In this context, Ms Choi (the assistant) is good because she is with S but also looks after other pupils. She is in the class as a mature senior member of society rather than just doing a job…

Ms. Lee believes that every pupil is equal and contributes to the building of the class community. Even though practice may be imperfect and inconsistent, the teacher tries to respond to individual needs to ensure everyone's learning and participation. The universal availability of support assistance is justified by the teacher's views and practice. As seen above, support assistance functions in a class community that is formed by interaction between members, all of whom, teacher, assistant and pupils, are mutually respected and influenced by the others. This is what Wenger (1998) describes 'community': shared enterprise through mutual support and interaction.

A wider application of support assistance is not always driven by a teacher's inclusive mind-set. In another example of stretching of the guidelines based on special pedagogy, the teacher in *Case 1* had a firm belief in fixed ability and special pedagogy. In Mr. Woo's perspective, disability was something special which was a barrier to learning with peers in mainstream school. He obviously doubted that S (the SEN pupil in his class) could learn. That 'special needs' thinking, however, did not transfer to become exclusion in practice. A range of his teaching strategies were directed at all of the pupils. Observation showed the teacher making consistent efforts to include SEN pupils, to ensure everybody's participation in the subject (P.E.).

Mr. Woo supposed the support assistant to be a specialist in special education and considered special education to be outwith his own area of expertise. In practice, however, the assistant was widely used to support all of the pupils. There was no discussion between the teacher and assistant but they both responded to any need as it arose from anyone in the class. The teacher also clearly recognised the issue of stigma in terms of applying support assistance to only the entitled pupil and showed an appreciation of the effect of the universal availability of support assistance in making all the pupils equal.

Vignette 12. Stretching of guidelines despite an exclusive mind-set

Class *observation and teacher interview*

Case 1

Analysis of class observation in P.E.

(Teacher's teaching and support)

In general, the teacher, the assistant and the pupils were all fully engaged in the activity lessons. At the start, the P.E. teacher explained the game and the rules. The attacking and defending teams were picked randomly according to P.E. class custom. Various decisions were made by the pupils themselves (order of hitter, managing of the scoreboard, positions of defenders and tidying up the equipment at the end). Pupils, teacher and assistant were active throughout the lesson. The teacher constantly made efforts to include all. He often changed rules to improve participation, especially for some who were finding it difficult. He constantly had to juggle between responding to individual needs and leading the class lesson. After making a change, he would monitor how it was going and would then either keep the new rule or make another change. Even though the changes did not always work, he kept making efforts to include all of the pupils. He also tried to change situations to improve everybody's participation. The wide range of individual needs was recognised by the teacher and addressed. He provided a range of individual forms of support as the need arose. Physical and verbal prompting was often used to encourage pupils, especially those who seemed not confident or seemed embarrassed when they did not perform well.

(Assistant's support : available for everyone)

Even though I was not able to quantify the communication between S (the SEN pupil) and the assistant or between the assistant and other pupils, I observed that the assistant interacted with a range of pupils and helped in various ways. Sometimes support to one individual helped the game as a whole to go smoothly. When the teacher assigned something to pupils, the assistant noticed it and gave them help. He constantly watched the game and saw what kind of help was needed. He was obviously helpful to individuals and to the class.

(Teacher interview: Mr. Woo) Mixture view of inclusive and exclusive across the three principles.

(Principle 1) The teacher holds deterministic belief about the ability to learn.

(p. 8) As I repeatedly say, I think that pupils who have special educational needs should be educated in special school rather than mainstream school but, anyway, they are here so I have to accommodate them...There is difference in ability between general pupils but they can communicate. However, S cannot (communicate with others). In P.E., he could take part to an extent in the activity but it would be difficult for him to take part in other subjects. I doubt if S could write his name or do addition or subtraction in Maths. I often think, Is it meaningful for him to stay in the Primary 5 class?

(Principle 2) He is responsible for everybody's participation and consistently makes an effort.

(p. 7) The assistant currently is primarily responsible for the pupil with SEN but I need to consider everyone, including general pupils, S and some of the general pupils who have fallen behind. (pp.4 and 5 and F/Q) "Through both success and mistakes in practice, I constantly try to reflect on my lesson so as to include everybody, including those pupils who have special needs in my subject, PE. I amend the rules of a game in various ways, depending on situations, to create circumstances which will allow all of the pupils to take part. There is no right or wrong practice and my strategies have constantly been developed through a lot of trial and error...

(Principle 3) Although he expects the assistant to be an expert in special education, he uses the support assistance for the benefit of everyone in the class and is willing to work in partnership.

(p. 3) I had an autistic boy and sometime he had an accident (toilet issue) in the playground. At that time, the assistant was useless - she did not know how to help the boy. It was a long time ago. I expect an assistant to have expertise in special education. (p. 4) I value the work of the support assistant (at the moment) in terms of supporting the whole class rather than supporting only one (the pupil with SEN). His support is helpful - it encourages them all to participate in the P.E. class… (F/Q) If I had the authority, I would give the assistant a weekly teaching and learning plan and ask her (or him) to adjust the level of difficulty of task so that S could take part.

A teacher's perspective on learning, teaching, and support hugely affects the deployment of the assistant and is key to deciding whether a practice will be inclusive or not. However, as can be seen above, even where a teacher favours special pedagogy based on the division of learners according to the SEN entitlement, the support itself can create a level of inclusion in which a range of pupils benefit from the help of a support assistant capable of responding to their needs. Significantly, inclusive practice is not always driven by an inclusive attitude. Despite the exclusive mind-set of the class teacher (Mr. Woo) in *Case 1* he was one of the most proactive in making efforts to engage with all of his pupils and he made inclusive use of his highly responsive assistant.

6.5.3. Practice disregarding policy

Due to the fact that a class teacher decides whether and for how long an assistant may be present in the class, support assistance can be effectively dispensed with. In the early days of support assistance in S. Korea, that did happen, mainly because of irritation about an 'extra pair of eyes' watching (Choi & Lee, 2009; Ko, 2009), i.e., teachers' discomfort with other adults in their classes (such as mentioned by Ms. Park, teacher in *Case 3*; see 6.5.1). However, surprisingly, the teacher's resistance there was due to a belief in inclusion; 'dealing with things together in the class community'. The interview with Ms. Kim (*Case 2* assistant) provided context from her experience of being excluded rather than used for the class;

(pp. 1 and 3) When C (a pupil with SEN) was in P3 and P4, the class teacher asked me not to stay in the classroom. She said she wanted to give C freedom. I stayed in the corridor and watched C through the window. (p. 2) The class teacher said, We are a class community, so we have to deal with these things together. C's classmates were very kind to her. It was great. The pupils thought that C should be with them and they helped her.

Among the cases observed for this study, another elaborated context was apparent. Ms. Oh (*Case 6* teacher) believed that the assistant's presence with the SEN pupil would be meaningless. It did not fit her idea of inclusive education, which was to deal personally with all her pupils in a fair way. She preferred working with a parent (mother) of the SEN pupil rather than professionals, SCT or support assistant. That is consistent with previous research conducted by Park and her colleague (2012).

Her view was that support assistance took away from the SEN pupil his/her equal standing in the class. Her thinking and practice were inclusive and support assistance (for the SEN pupil) was considered to be a barrier to that.

Vignette 13. Practice resistant to the use of support assistance

Class observation and teacher interview

Case 6

(Analysis of class observation) in Math, Social Studies and Art.

The teacher made constant efforts to encourage all the pupils to participate in lessons. There was no assistant present during the observation. A routine for B's work had been established by the class teacher. She constantly gave him tasks, monitored his progress and encouraged him to continue until he had completed them. First, she gave him his own worksheet (phonics, different from the sheet for the other pupils) and,

after he had finished that, gave him a lesson-related task with the level adjusted by her. All three observed units showed the same pattern. While she was teaching, she constantly monitored the progress of pupils and gave individual support to everybody, including B.

(Teacher interview: Ms. Oh): inclusive perspective clashing with support assistance policy.

(Principle 1) The teacher believes that everyone is equal and can make progress.

(p. 2) I try to give equal opportunities to pupils when deciding class duties. Everyone undertakes all the different duties over the course of the year. (p. 7) Everyone in my class is my pupil. They are equally important and each should be respected. Regardless of any pupil's reaction, I want to be fair.

(Principle 2) The teacher is responsible for, and available to, all of the pupils in the class.

(Ind.) To include the pupils with SEN, I discipline them in the same way that I do the other pupils. Even though they have difficulties, they are here for inclusive education. It may not be the same as for others but I make every effort to communicate with them and make them understand. Every pupil has moods. I do almost the same with SEN pupils as with others but sometimes in a different way. I let B write his homework list like the others even if it takes an hour. B was great in 6th-grade assembly. He did not leave his seat in over 2 hours."

(Principle 3) Support assistant provision in its current form is not useful as it makes some unequal.

(p. 8) When I consider support assistance, the ultimate aim should be co-operation in partnership. (If I had the authority)… I would discuss the lesson, for example, the activity, the teaching plan and the flow of the lesson, and I would prepare material for B more effectively. However… I see that most assistants sit close beside the assisted pupil and take full charge. The class teacher is physically in the same class but the pupil is on his/her own island and the assistant is his/her teacher. If I was an assistant, I would never always sit beside the pupil because he/she would then rely completely on me…

(p. 9) I usually discuss B's learning progress with his mother. She is very supportive. I used to discuss it with the Special Class teacher (SCT) but that was not effective. The assistant's support was not educationally beneficial either.

CHAPTER 7

MINIMAL vs MAXIMUM USE OF SUPPORT ASSISTANCE

7.1. Introduction

The study seeks to identify the conditions in which support assistance functioned inclusively and to identify challenges and possibilities relating to the development of inclusive education in practice in the S. Korean school context.

As no single teacher's practice emerged as perfectly consistent, i.e. fully inclusive or absolutely exclusive, it was not possible to find a standard model that perfectly matched the theoretical perspective of Inclusive Pedagogy. This is consistent with Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011)'s findings of imperfection and inconsistency in practice. Good examples of inclusive views and actions (and examples of the opposite) were extracted from the seven cases to identify circumstances or factors which promoted or hindered inclusive practice in this particular research context. To identify the conditions which appeared to make practice inclusive or not, the core concept of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, 'not some or most but everybody' was used for review of the findings. The notion of 'everyone rather than some or most pupils' from Inclusive Pedagogy was reconsidered from different but related angles, viz. "the availability of assistance" and "the teacher's exercise of responsibility for all (of the pupils in the classroom)". The scope of 'everybody' was also reconsidered and extended to the inclusive use of support assistance.

7.2. Clarifying "some/most or everybody" in two different contexts

Each teacher's practice could be placed at some point in the spectrum from inclusive to exclusive but most, to some extent, showed a tendency to inclusive thought and/or practice, whether confusedly or with certainty about what they were doing. There were also, on the other hand, obvious examples of non-inclusive practice. Some of the cases reported showed consistency between thinking and practice across the three principles,

others inconsistency, For examples, in *Case 1*, the teacher saw a definite division of learners and educators between general and special education according to Statements of Need and had a negative view of inclusive education. However, that same teacher constantly made an effort to include all the pupils in the observed lesson. Everyone was fully engaged in the lesson under the teacher's teaching, monitoring and support. In another case, *Case 7*, the teacher showed both inclusive and exclusive thinking and action across the three principles. She saw the assistant as a specialist for the SEN pupil alone but nevertheless valued the assistant's help to others. She considered herself to be in charge of teaching only 'normal pupils'. However, when the assistant was not present in the class, that teacher made an effort to include them all in her lesson.

On theoretical grounds, the 'additional' approach has been challenged by the 'everybody approach' of Inclusive Pedagogy (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). With the 'everybody' approach, the teacher seeks to extend learning opportunities to all so that all can participate in class life. That differs from the earlier form of inclusive education in which all of the pupils participated in class by virtue of 'differentiation for some according to ability group or needs of the statement' (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). The core idea of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach is the shift from 'some or most' to 'everybody'. In this study, the common factors (from the modified IPAA code list) determining that a teacher's practice was inclusive were that the teachers addressed all of the pupils, including the SEN pupil, continually monitored the progress of all and gave spontaneous support to all and that support assistance was valued as additional to the teacher's work with the whole class.

A class teacher's inclusive view and practice did not, however, always involve inclusive (available for all) use of support assistance and sometimes, without any effort by the teacher to include all pupils, support assistance was available to pupils in addition to an SEN pupil.

As regards support assistance itself, what then makes it inclusive? The nature of support assistance itself implies that it is 'additional help for some pupils' (the SEN entitled) and pedagogical decisions for the SEN pupils in this study were generally made by the assistants. On the other hand, under the topic of 'the class teacher's influence on the work of the support assistant' and in the interpretation of the class teacher's practice in relation to the three principles of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, it was identified that the class teacher hugely influences how support assistance is used. Support assistance here includes conflicting features: it is formally not, and is generally considered not to be, the responsibility of the class teacher but it is hugely affected by the class teacher's views and practice.

In this sense, the ‘everybody’ approach may be examined and applied in the research context from two different angles, 1) assistance ordinarily available to everyone and 2) efforts made by a teacher to broaden opportunities for everybody. The first of those is a phenomenon observable in class; the second is the teacher’s willingness to accept responsibility for all of the pupils in the classroom. For ideal inclusive practice, both are required.

7.3. Everybody versus some or most: availability of support assistance

The ‘everybody’ approach questions ‘what is ordinarily available for all’. Therefore, in the course of considering the nature of support assistant provision deriving from the ‘some’ approach, this research focuses on widening the availability of support assistance for more pupils as a process of inclusive education.

The nature of support assistant provision in S. Korea, like the statement of Special Educational Needs, expresses an ‘additional’ (support for some pupils) approach. The underpinning assumption has led to different and extra provision for certain pupils. In another context too, England, similar circumstances emerged in research conducted by Black-Hawkins and Florian (2012, pp. 677–578). A local authority there deployed two Learning Support Assistants in mainstream school for the behaviour management of certain pupils. However, the school staff made the assistance available to the wider population to avoid isolating the assisted pupils. The support assistants worked with the class teachers for any group or individual needing help. In that study, practice was improved by changing the teacher’s perspective to include all of the pupils. As discussed in 6.2.2, this present research found instances of a natural widening of the application of support assistance, e.g., by an assistant’s initiatives in response to the needs of an individual or situation, without any formal decision or change of intention on the part of other stakeholders.

Related to the issue of the widening of the availability of support assistance is the issue of dependency, where an assisted pupil relies to an excessive degree on the assistant. In this study, as in other research (Lehane, 2016), despite diversity in teachers’ views on inclusive education and the use of support assistants, teachers commonly saw a problem in overdependence of SEN pupils on assistants and overprotection of SEN pupils by assistants. Stigmatisation was also commonly recognised. For those teachers, the ideal

use of an assistant seemed to be a form of work that would minimise support assistance and encourage independence, the aim of inclusive education. Support assistant provision is the core instrument of educational inclusion in S. Korea but, at the same time, is seen as stigmatising the 'included' pupils. There is not consensus, however, in favour of the availability of support to other pupils. Teachers' opinions as to how best to use the residual support time (time not spent with the assisted pupil) differed from individual to individual. Some teachers took the negative view that residual time could be used for other pupils while others would use the assistance effectively and flexibly in their classrooms.

Vignette 14. Opposing opinions of teachers on widening the availability of support assistance

Teacher interviews

Widened availability: 1) 'some or most' approach.

Ms. Park, Case 3

(p. 10) I sometimes feel that the assistant restricts K (the SEN pupil) unnecessarily by imposing too tight a limit on her behaviour. For example, if she makes a noise, yes, she can. Actually my class is quite chatty and loud (laughs). However, the assistant, unnecessarily, sometimes does not allow her to speak up…Yes, I sometimes feel that the assistant overprotects her and restricts her freedom to communicate with her classmates… (p. 9) If a pupil asks for help from the assistant, when I am not available, she (the assistant) may help her/him. It would be good for class pupils to consider her (the assistant) to be a member of the class. Also, she may help other pupils in the same group as K. (p. 11) (Photo elicitation) I understand that if the assistant were to support all the pupils in the class, the SEN pupil would not get stigmatised by the others as she or he would be considered an equal member of the class community. However, even if I had the authority to make it so, I would not initiate that as there might be a conflict in roles between teacher and assistant and I would feel uncomfortable - and also it would take a long time to accept that situation...

Widened availability: 2) 'everybody' approach.

Mr. Woo, Case 1

(F/Q) His (the assistant's) support is helpful to encourage all to participate in the PE class….. If a support assistant supported only one particular pupil, the other class pupils might be prejudiced against that pupil but, because the assistant supports several pupils or the whole class, the pupils consider him to be a helper for all of them, without any negative prejudice. I value the work of the support assistant in terms of supporting the whole class rather than supporting only one pupil (pupil with SEN).

Ms. Kim, Case 4

(p. 11) In the PE class, S is supported by an assistant. To be honest with you, when she (the assistant) is not here, I support S. S is able to take part in activities to a certain level. I asked myself, 'Do I need to support him one to one?' However, when she is in the class, she supports him fully so he over-relies on her and he is less willing to do things by himself. I think that, in that situation, S considers himself to be different from others. He sits in a separate place. I am sure he can stand up like other pupils but he

thinks himself special….. (p. 12) I sometimes say to her (the assistant), "Please do not help him when he can manage. I think he can do most things."

(p. 14) It would be ideal that if the support assistant gave support to whoever in the whole class needed help. Also, S would not think of himself as special. It would be good for the all pupils because if they asked for help, there would not only be the one teacher but another adult too to help them…. If that was settled as a policy, I do not think I would feel uncomfortable at all…

Ms Kim (*Case 4*) comments in the above interview that her limited availability for individual attention could be compensated for by an assistant's availability to respond to needs as they arose. The equality issue was considered significant by the other teacher above, Mr. Woo. Mr. Jo and Ms. Lee shared that view, as shown *Vignette 15* below. Those three teachers would make support assistance available to everyone and believe that that would make all of the class members equal. They justified universal support as helpful and desirable for the class community and thought that it could be adopted as a pattern of work to meet the diverse needs of pupils and classes. It reinforces the view that support assistance should be omnipresent in the class for every pupil, as Blatchford and colleagues (2012) opined. Although the research contexts and the education systems are different, equality is a universal value.

As *Vignette 15* below shows, teachers and assistants broadly recognised the positive impact of a wider application of support assistance. However, due to the different responsibilities and roles, teachers generally saw it as being potentially to the benefit of the whole class whereas the support assistants considered the impact on the SEN pupils and their own positions. Through communicating with an assistant, class pupils get to know the SEN pupil and can more easily give help when the assistant is not present. So assistance to other pupils benefits not only those directly assisted but also the SEN pupil. Assistants themselves appreciate being included in the class community.

Vignette 15. Positive consequences of widening the availability of support assistance

Teacher and assistant interviews

Teachers

Ms Oh, Case 6: Benefit to other pupils.

(p. 12) If pupils asked for help from the assistant, I would be o.k. with that. Anyway, the assistant is in the classroom. My availability is inevitably limited so…. When I think of 'help', B is not only pupil who needs help… (p. 15) More support is beneficial for pupils. Pupils do not worry about the presence of an adult. Pupils welcome any support given to them. Isn't support helpful for them?

Ms Kim, Case 4: Possible positive influence on the class.

(p. 14) It would be ideal if the support assistant gave support to whoever in the whole class needed help… It would be good for all the pupils because, if they asked for help, there would not only be the one teacher but another adult too to help them… (p. 15) For group work or individual work, the more helpers the better. Peer support could also be good but, for pupils' self-esteem, adult support would be better… For academically able pupils, when they finished a task before others, it would then be possible for them to be challenged (by a new task).

Mr. Jo, Case 2: As a benefit to the SEN pupil and the class.

(pp. 3 ,4) The pupils (in my class) think that the assistant is a second teacher. When pupils get stuck they ask me for help but they also ask her (the assistant)… They share C's teacher (the assistant), so they do not make fun of C. If her assistance was not available to all, (other) pupils would not accept C and the assistant as members of the class community…. As things stand, they too have become responsible for helping C. For the whole class as a community, I think it is advantageous….. For example, when a pupil spills water, she (the assistant) is there to help.

Ms. Lee, Case 5: As a benefit to the class community.

(p. 7) When pupils ask Ms. Choi (the assistant) for help, if she is available and can afford to do it, she helps, and that is desirable for the class … (p. 8) Even though she comes into the class to help S (the SEN pupil), the justification for S being in the mainstream class is that S is together with other children. We all are members of one society.

Assistants

Ms. Shin, Case 7: As a benefit to the SEN pupil and the class.

(p. 2) Sometimes the other pupil's seat is near the SEN pupil whom I am supporting. The class atmosphere is important as the SEN pupil is also affected by that. Even before the teacher asked me directly to help that pupil, I had already started to help him. That was helpful for the class as a whole including the SEN pupil. (p. 8) When I was helping other pupils I could see that the SEN pupil was happy with that. Of course, some got jealous (laughs).

Ms. Kim, Case 2: Being part of the class community is positive for the assistant.

(F/Q) I help class pupils like a mum rather than providing academic support. For example… I feel that I have become a part of the class community. When they took a class photo, I was asked by the class pupils and class teacher to be with them although I did not accept the invitation (it is not customary in S. Korean classes).

Ms. Lee, Case 4: Benefit to SEN pupil

(p. 6) When pupils need support and I help them, that is also helpful for the SEN pupil even though I am not with him/her. When I interact with other pupils, I tell them about the SEN pupil and encourage them to interact. That has been especially beneficial for an autistic child. Through that process, the class pupils have learned about him and got a positive image and have become close. When he struggles with something, they help him.

Ms. Choi, Case 5: Benefit to the SEN pupil.

(p. 6) I think that communicating with other pupils is important. Helping other pupils is helpful for the SEN pupil too as I can ask them to help him when I leave the classroom. Whenever I am asked to help other pupils, I do.

Mr. Park, Case 1: Positive for him (the assistant) and benefit to the SEN pupil.

(p.3) In P.E. classes. I give a lot of help. I am asked to help the class by the teacher… The P.E. teacher treats me like a class assistant. When I support other class pupils, I find that those pupils are also kind to S.

The most interesting finding was that even a teacher who saw a strong division in expertise between special and general education, whose understanding of inclusive education was driven by 'special pedagogy' (Trussler & Robinson, 2015) and who identified herself as a general education teacher for 'normal pupils', valued support from an assistant for another pupil when the situation did not allow her to deal with it. The teacher, when she reflected on particular situations, clearly valued assistants' support of other pupils, as shown below.

Vignette 16. Valuing widened support assistance despite a belief in special education

Teacher interview

Ms. Han, *Case 7*

(p. 5) Special Class Teachers (SCTs) do not take part in mainstream classes at all so they have no idea about the context of teaching and learning and other related struggles and issues. However, I do not think that that (the current form) is problematic. The SCT is in charge of supporting the pupils with SEN entitlements and we (general education teachers) are in charge of supporting 'normal pupils'. We have different responsibilities, so we do not have to communicate with each other. (p. 10) If I were K's mum, I would not let him attend a mainstream school. I would let him go to special school… (p. 4) If I was an assistant and was asked to give general support to the class, I would not accept it. If I was an assistant, I would be here to help K (the SEN pupil). Why should I tidy up something else? (p. 6) (However,) I do appreciate that Ms. Shin helped the class when a boy had a toileting accident in the class... However, it was actually my job (as the class teacher).

Inclusive use of support assistance seems natural in a class community in which over 20 pupils learn from only one teacher. Although the policy has created a 'frame of exclusion' (Razer et al., 2013), practice is creating a "reframe of inclusion". The popularity of the widening of support assistance and its positive impact has not yet been openly acknowledged in the S. Korean educational context but the evidence is substantial.

So then, does "inclusive use of support" equate to "inclusive practice?" "Inclusive use of support assistance" means here that the assistant is available to respond to a range of needs in various circumstances. The inclusive form of support may be encouraged, or at least be appreciated, by a teacher but that does not indicate the class teacher's acceptance and implementation of responsibility for all the pupils. For example, Mr. Jo,

Case 2 teacher saw the benefits of in the universal availability of support assistance and the work of his support assistant was inclusive but his own practice was not. The SEN pupil in his class was solely taught by the assistant.

That complexity is reflected in other areas of practice. For example, support assistant provision may be used inclusively without the teacher's practice being inclusive where the assistant is responsive to the needs of non-SEN pupils as seen in *Case 7 (Vignette 16)* above. On the other hand, a teacher's practice may be inclusive without involving inclusive use of support assistance, e.g., where the teacher considers support assistance to be unhelpful and an unnecessary addition to what the teacher can provide (*Case 6*, discussed in 7.6). As may be evident from the above examples, the impact of a teacher's attitude to responsibility for pupils on support assistant provision is complex.

Inclusive use of support assistance may amount to less than "inclusive practice". Support may be available to anyone but class practice is not inclusive unless everyone is taught primarily by the teacher. What makes practice inclusive is the combination. The significant factor determining whether a practice is inclusive is how the support assistance functions in line with the teacher's practice.

7.4. Teachers' responsibility: some/most approach and function of support assistance

'Taking teacher's responsibility for everyone' is the core idea of Inclusive Pedagogy (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). Even though most participating teachers recognised their responsibility for all of the pupils in the classroom, how they exercised that responsibility and made use of support assistance differed. The exercise of responsibility by the teacher is the first condition for making support assistant practice inclusive.

The most obvious feature of the 'some or most' approach, as observed in one case (*Case 3*, see 5.3.3: Pattern of class practice according to the principles of the IPAA), was that only the non-SEN pupils in the class received the teacher's teaching, support and attention. Even though the teacher created learning opportunities for pupils to construct individual participation, those were not available to the SEN pupil. That teacher believed in special pedagogy, i.e. that pupils with SEN should receive special education from special teachers and support from assistants. Across the seven cases in this study,

according to frequency of appearance of codes from the modified IPAA framework, some degree of exclusive practice was generally identified. *Table 7.1* below gives details.

(Table 7.1) Circumstances that hinder inclusion

Inclusive pedagogy	Frequently appearing codes from the modified IPAA framework
Dealing with difference	- Difference is considered to be something special. -Disability requires qualitatively different (special) expertise from general education. - Using teaching and learning strategies suitable for most alongside something 'additional' or 'different'. - In teaching and learning, focusing on what pupils cannot do.
Teacher's self-belief	- Difficulties in learning are considered to be deficits in learners. - Some or most pupils ought to be taught and monitored primarily by the teacher. - Focusing on who is to learn the lesson. - Interested solely in pupils' acqusition of knowledge and skills. - Fixed approach to support determined by pupil's difficulty or difference.
Working with others	- Unwilling to work with and through others. - Working with others to include some pupils. - Considering support assistance to be special provision for one or some. - Unwillingness to seek or apply new ways of supporting learning for all. - Working with or through any other adult in such a way as to imply that any learner may not be a full member of the class community. - Not working in partnership with other teachers or adults in the classroom.

If, based on a teacher's deterministic view of ability, difficulty and difference are considered to be 'special', the SEN pupil whose educational needs that teacher ought to meet is effectively removed from the class. Knowledge of and expertise in special education are considered to be key to implementing inclusive education by meeting the individual needs of certain pupils who are seen as being different from their peers. Disability is considered to be outwith the remit of the class teacher.

In those cases, support assistant provision is used as the core resource of inclusive education by meeting "special needs" beyond the mainstream class teacher's expertise. Special needs require special expertise. That attitude is similar to that discussed in previous research in which Giangreco (2010) found that a teacher assistant was being utilised exclusively as the primary instructor for assisted (disabled) pupils. Support

assistance is exceptional and is for pupils who are not the teacher's responsibility. The rationales for that arrangement are: 1) that it is a necessary condition to enable a pupil with SEN to be included and 2) that it relieves the teacher's workload.

7.4.1. Exclusive approach to support assistance (1): as a necessary condition for including a pupil with SEN

There is a difference between being responsible for all of the pupils and teaching and monitoring all of them as the primary instructor. The former seemed to be taken for granted by most teachers in this study but the latter, actual implementation in practice, was not universally evident. Without effect in practice, responsibility lacks substance. Even where a teacher clearly recognised that everyone should be her/his responsibility, it was not always the case that that pupils' diverse needs were addressed by that teacher. The most difficult case was *Case 2*, in which the assistant was available as a second teacher to any pupils in a range of circumstances and the teacher and assistant worked in partnership in the class. The teacher did take some responsibility for the SEN pupil's participation but not as the main instructor. Support assistance was regarded as an absolutely necessary condition for including the SEN pupil, based on the teacher's 'some' approach and lack of confidence. *Vignette 17* below gives details under this heading.

Vignette 17. 'Some/most' approach to support assistance as a necessary condition

Teacher interview and class observation

Case 2

Teacher interview: Mr. Jo

(Principle 1, 2) Mr. Jo distinguishes learners according to SEN entitlement and considers himself not to be capable of teaching pupils with SEN. He admits and appreciates that C (the SEN pupil)'s education is primarily in the charge of the assistant.

(p. 5) I know that it is my responsibility to consider C's educational plan. However, I am not capable of doing that because I haven't had experience of running a curriculum for 'special children'. In other words, I have only done so for non-special children so I really appreciate Ms. Kim (the assistant), who compensates for what I am not good at…. She has been with C over the years. I think she knows C best… I do think what would be good for C. In Art, (drawing on rice paper), I thought it would be good to give her a bigger sheet, so actually, I had already prepared for that. However, I hadn't thought of drawing dots (on the sheet so that C could draw a line aided by dots). I thought it was good idea so I thanked her (the assistant)… (p. 6) I have already told her (the assistant) that she did not have to ask permission from me (to do something for

C). I know that she is always concerned about C, so… I said that she can do whatever (she thinks best) and let me see it before she leaves the class… I think C's primary instructor is C's teacher (the assistant)…

(Principle 3) The teacher and the assistant work in partnership and support assistance is available for everyone.

(p. 10) C used to often stick out her tongue. It was sudden. C's teacher (the assistant) researched it and suggested to me not to react to it. I accepted that. To eliminate that behaviour, we did not react to it… C's teacher is proactive. She looks for ideas to help deal with any situation involving C. Then she asks me to go along her plan and I do. I see her often, and she is in my class and she is very friendly with all the pupils. I discuss things with C's teacher. (pp. 3, 4) I encourage Ms. Kim (the assistant) to help any pupils, so the pupils have come to respect her… When I am not available to give attention, she deals with it. That's why she is a second teacher in my class.

Analysis of observation note (general picture of the lesson).

While the teacher was leading the class lesson, the assistant was constantly working out how C could take part. (Consistent with what was later said in the teacher's and assistant's interviews, the assistant took all of the decisions regarding C, including selecting tasks, adjusting the level of difficulty, deciding when to move to an activity unrelated to the lesson (e.g., drawing or looking at a story book) and dealing with behavioural issues.) The assistant sometimes interacted with other pupils but her movements were limited as she was almost constantly with C. There was no apparent attempt by the teacher, by action or word, to include C. The teacher often gave individual attention to pupils to monitor progress or to help them - but not to C. Neither the teacher nor any of the other pupils initiated interaction with C. The assistant was obviously the 'primary instructor' for C.

In the teacher's interview above, the support assistant is called "C's teacher" and is viewed as an essential resource, a primary instructor to accommodate a pupil with SEN in a mainstream class. There was no interaction between the teacher and C in the three lessons observed. Expertise was divided into two categories, special education and general education, according to the status of the pupils. The teacher considered that he himself was not an expert but that the assistant was. Due to the lack of confidence of the class teacher, support assistance was used as compensation for his shortcomings and to let him surrender responsibility for the SEN pupil. Rather than avoiding responsibility entirely, the teacher stepped back and worked as a support assistant for the pupil with SEN. With reference to Inclusive Pedagogy, 'teacher's taking responsibility for all of the pupils', in this case the teacher exercised responsibility as a primary instructor only for most, the non-SEN pupils. The assistant was C's primary instructor.

Here, one of the most significant factors that hindered an inclusive use of support assistance was the teacher's view that support assistance was special expertise

implemented as an absolute condition for the integration of pupils with SEN. In that arrangement, the assistant, as primary instructor, took the initiative in planning and implemented all of the pedagogical decisions with regard to the SEN pupil. Setting up a routine for a lesson and reducing the difficulty of an activity were routine.

Regardless of the inclusive use of support assistance which is potentially and actually available for everyone in the class or of good partnership between assistant and teacher, class practice in terms of the use of support assistance is not inclusive unless the class teacher exercises fundamental responsibility for all of the pupils in the classroom.

7.4.2. Exclusive approach to support assistance (2): easing a teachers' workload

In one case the teacher considered herself as the teacher for the normal (most) pupils but not the SEN pupils. She based that on her view of a strict division between special and general education. She saw the support assistant as having expertise which was different from hers. All the decisions on teaching and supporting the SEN pupil in the classroom were made by the assistant, a practice approved by the teacher. The particular disability was highlighted by the teacher to help other pupils to understand special needs. She did not see it as problem but found it useful in running the class (see *Vignette 18* below). The support assistant, along with peer support, was used to relieve the teacher of the burden of accommodating the SEN pupil. It is consistent with what the mainstream teachers generally conceive (Choi, 2009; Ko, 2009). The presence of the assistant allowed the teacher to exercise almost no responsibility for that pupil.

Vignette 18. Exclusive approach to support assistance: easing a teacher's workload

Teacher interview

Teacher interview: Ms. Han, Case 7

(Principle 1, 2) From the teacher's point of view, disability is something special but she sees that as positive in the class community. She hardly considers the SEN pupil's learning and participation.

(p. 2) My class pupils think that H (the SEN pupil) is disabled. They also think he is cute so they are kind to him. When he went on an outing organised for his special class, I told the pupils that, to explain why he had not appeared in the class. Some pupils said, "I wish I was disabled." (laughs) Girls especially recognise his condition and think that

they need to help him. That is beneficial for H and also makes it easier for me. If they did not help him, it would be 100% my responsibility so, from that point of view, the pupils take on a role which supports me… (p. 7) Basically, the pupils in the class see that H is disabled and know that he cannot do things that they can. He cannot speak properly and he screams and behaves like a baby, so the pupils treat him like a baby or younger child. I agree with that kind of thinking. Pupils motivate themselves to help him – I have no argument with that at all. In my class (apart from H), there are pupils whose progress in learning is way behind or whose behaviour is challenging. The attitude of the majority of pupils toward them is different from their attitude toward H. They are isolated by the majority of the class. They are not chosen as partners (for working in pairs). Pupils do not want to hold their hands. Pupils say openly; "I do not want to be her (his) partner, I do not want to hold her (his) hands." However, they are soft and kind to H.

(p. 6) I sometimes try to communicate with H and help his mood (feelings) but I don't encourage him to join in the activities because he cannot manage any activities… (p. 8) I tend to hardly consider K. I am the person teaching subjects but he cannot manage them at all, so that makes it difficult to do anything for him. I just make eye contact and play a bit with him or share his feelings or stroke his head…

(Principle 3) The support assistant is considered to have the expertise for having charge of a pupil with SEN.

(p. 5) The Special Class Teacher is in charge of supporting pupils with SEN entitlements and we (general education teachers) are in charge of supporting normal pupils. We have different responsibilities, so we do not have to communicate with each other. (p. 8) If a behavioural issue occurred in the class, I think that it would be appropriate for the assistant to deal with it if it related to H (e.g., if a pupil had been aggressive toward H). However, if the assistant intervened in any other guidance issue regarding other pupils, I would consider that to be infringing on my authority…

However, the teacher in *Case 7* above takes a different attitude to responsibility if the assistant is not present. If the assistant is present, the teacher's responsibility is given over to the assistant. The assistant's support is respected as expertise. However, when the support assistant is not present, the teacher makes an effort to be inclusive, e.g., by creating an environment in which learning opportunities are sufficiently available in practice to all the pupils. The inconsistency in practice (illustrated below) was extracted from the teacher interview.

Vignette 19. Teacher's inconsistent practice according to whether assistant present

Teacher interview

Teacher interview: Ms. Han, Case 7.

Support assistant present: teacher takes no responsible for pupil with SEN.

(p. 3) How I have benefitted from the support assistant is that she does everything involving H such as completing the notice book (for communication between parents and school) and formative assessment sheets, adjusting his clothes and lifting him up

when he falls down. I would have to deal with those things one by one if there was no assistant but I couldn't manage those endless tasks.

(p. 8) She (the assistant) is a specialist, having accumulated know-how regarding teaching the disabled in a one to one setting. She has expertise in that area so I encourage the class pupils to support her teaching when they are asked (e.g., by demonstrating the use of a skipping rope). I do not think it is proper for me to interfere with her teaching as that is her role, and especially as she is experienced…. The assistant sometimes brings an additional batch of task sheets provided for the special class. The assistant makes the decision as to when and how to use them. For example, when the class pupils do a spelling test, H usually takes a rest for a bit and then, when he is bored, the assistant will say to him "Shall we try to do this (e.g., colouring, lining dots)?" Those decisions are made by the assistant. I just figure out what is going on.

Absence of support assistant: teacher takes responsibility for all.

(pp.3, 4) When the support assistant is not present in class, how I consider H is by adding extra dance (moving) activities because he is not able to learn the subjects that the rest of the class do. However, he is able to take part in dancing (rhythmical body movement)… The pupils are in the first year of primary school so I think it is good for everybody. So when H is with us in the class, we do more dancing activities. Also H enjoys watching video clips. I also consider this in my lesson because he is unable to cope with most subjects especially Maths, Korean, Writing and Speaking… When the assistant is not present, I tend to make more use of visual and auditory materials to encourage H to give attention to the lesson and to take part in the activities. When the assistant is present, however, I tend not to think about H.

Despite an exclusive perspective, the teacher takes responsibility for all including the SEN pupil when the assistance is not available. The presence of the assistant is not in itself a problem but the issue seems to be how the assistance functions. Although the teacher makes an effort to include H (the SEN pupil) when the assistant is not present, support assistance is still used to relieve the teacher's responsibility, based on a strict division between pupils and between general and special education. Here too, the exclusive use of support assistance was in line with this teacher's default 'some or most' approach.

Then, how ought support assistance to function where a class teacher takes responsibility for all of the pupils, including any SEN pupil?

7.5. Teacher's responsibility for 'everybody' and function of support assistance

With regard to the rationale for a teacher's inclusive practice, the most significant factor (according to the frequency of appearance of codes in this study) was a teacher's belief that all of the pupils ought to be taught and monitored primarily by her/him and were her/his responsibility. Those teachers constantly created learning environments sufficiently available to all pupils, including the SEN pupils on the basis of their belief that everyone could make progress. Everyone had the teacher's attention regardless of the presence of an assistant or other teachers (e.g., English native-speaker or Sports Teacher). Those teachers took the initiative in planning and implementing spontaneous decisions for the whole range of pupils in the lessons, including providing material and individual instruction and monitoring progress. They also had a desire to discuss those decisions with the support assistant. Difficulty in learning was recognised as a challenge for the teacher (Florian & Linklater, 2010; Hart, 2004) and was dealt with not only by help from the teacher but also by, e.g., peer support, pair work, and support from a co-teacher. Mutual support in the class community was part of learning and participation. Those teachers respected the contribution of others, the assistant, co-teachers and pupils who gave peer support, to supplement the teacher's work. *Table 7.2* below shows the details identified from the modified IPAA framework.

The teachers in the two cases (*Case 4* and *Case 5*) whose teaching practice was inclusive believed that everybody, including pupils, teacher and assistant, would grow together through being in a community. They had developed their perspectives and practice through reflecting on why they should include SEN pupils and how they might do so. Their examples show teachers' practice changing and developing through questioning and reflecting. Their aim was to continuously consider how to teach in a fair way, being responsible for everyone. The support provided by their assistants and other forms of support, were considered to be positive for everyone's growth. In line with the 'unique variability of individual learners' (Lewis & Norwich, 2005a; Norwich & Lewis, 2007), having support assistance did not make any difference to equality between pupils. More fundamentally, with regard to the function of support assistance, as Blatchford and his colleague (2012) urge, support assistance was used to add value to the teacher's primary responsibility for the whole class rather than being used as a substitute. In both cases, the contribution of the assistant was highly valued by the teacher.

(Table 7.2) Circumstances showing inclusion

Inclusive pedagogy.	Frequently appearing codes from the modified IPAA framework.
Dealing with difference	-Acceptance that differences are part of human condition. -Belief that all children can make progress. -Creating an environment in which learning opportunities are sufficiently available in practice to all learners. -Using language which assumes the value of all learners. -Focusing teaching and learning on what pupils can do. -Providing opportunities for children to construct knowledge (participation).
Teacher's self-belief	-Belief that difficulty in learning is a dilemma (challenge) for teaching. -Belief that all learners ought to be taught and monitored primarily by teacher. -Belief in own capacity to promote learning for all pupils. -Focusing on what is to be taught and how. -Interested in welfare of whole child. -Felxible approach - driven by need of learners or circumstances for support.
Working with others	-Willingness to work (creatively) with and through others. -Working with others, aiming to include everybody. -Considering support assistance as helpful and beneficial for all. -Inviting and accepting contributions from others in a way that respects the dignity of learners as full members of the school community.

7.5.1. Inclusive approach to support assistance (1): an essential element of learning for all

The teacher in *Case 4* saw support as an essential part of learning that any pupil could receive-or give. The support provided by the assistant was valued but support as officially provided did not fit her idea of support. She saw support from diverse angles e.g., academic strength and weakness as well as various physical conditions. If she has discretion, she would use the support assistance for any pupil, including generally high-achieving pupils and for diverse needs displayed at various times in a class. Peer support had first been used for the SEN pupil in her class but had come to benefit the whole class. Her practice had developed to become more inclusive through ongoing reflection.

The analysis of class observation after the teacher interview (*Vignette 20* below) shows the teacher, in partnership with others, including the Sports Teacher and support assistant, making an effort to include the SEN pupil. Although there was not much noticeable interaction between teacher and assistant, the teacher took responsibility for all of the pupils and tried to build a partnership with the assistant. There is potential to move forward when a teacher's view of inclusive practice includes extended use of support assistance.

Vignette 20. Inclusive approach to support assistance: an essential element of learning for all

Teacher interview and class observation

Case 4

Teacher interview: Ms. Kim.

(Principle 1) Based on the 'everybody' approach, mutual support in the class community is emphasised to make sure that all pupils are treated equally, can make progress and can learn from each other.

(p. 3) In the first place, I took account of S's (the SEN pupil)'s physical difficulty (legs) and gave him special treatment. However, the rest of the class did not accept it positively, so I started to emphasise to the whole class 'helping one another' as a way of being considerate towards each other. I said, "Everybody can give and take help. There is not a particular weaker one who alone and always needs help - there are 'circumstances' that require help". When S turned off the light for the whole class for watching the screen, we all thanked him for his help. Likewise, we thank anybody who does his or her daily duty. Anyone can give and take support. Eventually, my class pupils accepted this idea and it works well.

(p.4) Some of the pupils who are academically good seemed selfish. I could see them change through their experience of helping others (classmates). Yes, of course, I consider S's physical condition and give extra care but, as a class community, it is difficult to have a good community unless pupils are considerate towards their classmates. That's why I draw a big picture as a whole, like a society. (Ind.) In Social Studies, I tell stories about mutual support. I also praise S when he is helpful to others or in the classroom.

(Ind.) Having S is good because pupils whose academic level is similar to S are encouraged (together with S) and all the pupils try to help each other… (p. 7) When I give a task to pupils, there are a range of timelines for pupils to finish it. Then I gave them the answer sheet and let them mark it. Pupils who finish early have become peer tutors. Pupils teach and learn from one another. S is one of the pupils who receives support from his peers. At first, I was thinking about S but it is helpful for the whole class. (p. 16) I think that peer support is a good basis for collaborative learning. We held a musical drama in a class that was organised completely by the pupils. S performed his role successfully, too.

(Principle 2) The teacher recognises that there are both weaknesses and strengths in the same pupil and both aspects are considered equally to be professional challenges. She makes sure that every pupil is under her responsibility.

(p. 4)…to be honest with you, I think it inevitable that there are differences between pupils according to their potential and circumstances, including S. I just give my best in

teaching. Regarding the academic aspect, I do try to teach in interesting ways and prompt pupils to learn better but that is all. I do not expect more than that. However, if I found a strength in a pupil, I would try to support that pupil to show it. For instance, there is one pupil who is good at art. I have encouraged her to take part in competitions. I can support her by respecting her ideas and ability. In fact, she lacks attention in (other) subjects and concentrates only in art (drawing). Through supporting her art work, I have been able to build a good rapport with her. I have said to her, "I am happy as long as you work hard at the task that you are given and I also want you to take part in subjects (e.g., Maths, Korean etc.) in an active way." There was not a remarkable improvement but she has come to have less resistance to learning and she accepts my discipline when I correct her during other subjects. Through the building of trust between us, she has improved. In the same way, if a pupil excels in science or other areas, I support them. (p. 11) I am a primary instructor for S. If I let (or ask) the assistant (to) do everything regarding S, that means that I give up my responsibility. Teaching and learning are my role. It is inappropriate for me to ask the assistant to decide everything regarding S.

(Ind.) The assistant attends my class for P.E. I think S needs academic support in the main subjects. I know that it would be difficult for him to manage all the P4 curriculum but, if there was support or if the amount of the task was reduced, he could… When I am available, I give him one-to-one academic support in the main subjects."

(Principle 3) She is hesitant about initiating a new way of working with the support assistant because she considers herself not to have ownership of the provision. She see the SEN pupil's reliance on the support assistant as problem. She views assistance as being of benefit to the whole class.

(pp.10, 11) The reason why I am not sure about asking the assistant to help more in the mainstream class is that suggesting a collaborative effort to the Special Class Teacher and to the assistant would be seen as 'imposing extra work' which might possibly make them uncomfortable. It is difficult to communicate with them as I have always accepted what they decided (about how to support) and have taken that for granted.

(p.14) The support assistant should be helpful to S. However, in general, one adult (the assistant) consistently helps S, so S thinks that he is in a special situation. He abuses it… In the library, every pupil, including S, should read a book quietly, of course, but he was playing like a baby, so I told him that he should not use the condition of his legs as an excuse not to do something… I said, "You have to do whatever you can do." (p. 14) It would be ideal if the support assistant gave support to whoever in the whole class needed help. (p. 15) Whether group work or individual work, the more helpers the better. Peer support could also be good but, considering the pupils' self-esteem, adult support would be better… For academically able pupils, when they finish a task before others, it would be possible for them to be challenged (by a new task).

<u>Class observation: P.E.</u>

Teacher, assistant, and pupils interacted with one another, apparently naturally. The teacher and assistant both initiated conversations to include S (the pupil with SEN). A Sports Teacher led the game with the class teacher. In consequence, the role of the teacher was more flexible and she was available to support pupils individually. The class teacher provided individual support to a range of pupils. Throughout the three observed lessons, she kept considering S's needs and monitoring his progress regardless of the presence of the assistant. She sometimes communicated with the assistant and often with the Sports Teacher to try to include S. When the teacher's

support seemed excessive to S, he (S) made clear that he wanted to try by himself. The teacher's support was consistent and S took full part in the lessons.

e.g., in P.E. (p. 6) Before S takes his turn, the class teacher, the Sports Teacher and S discuss relocating the turning point for the relay for S. The teacher says*, "How about putting S's turn nearer?"*, and the Sports Teacher agrees, *"That's a good idea!"* When the teacher puts the point nearer, S places it a bit further back.

S was keen to take part in the game and showed appreciation of the support given by teacher and assistant. (According to the assistant at interview, S had hardly taken part in P.E. in the previous year. He had shown little motivation and had been too easily excluded in games). He made own decisions about the level of the activity. When he thought that too much support was being given and wanted to participate more independently, he said so. The assistant generally supported S but, if another pupil needed support, she provided that.

The teacher, Ms. Kim, considered the system of SEN entitlement to be a barrier to the availability of learning support as it divided the pupils and limited access to resources. Support is not provided according to the "actual needs of the pupil" but is "entitlement-based". From her perspective, any assistance, including other provision from the general education sector (e.g., Learning Support Teacher[12]) should be flexibly available for anyone regardless of SEN entitlement. The current provision system hinders that flexible approach which might be more beneficial for more pupils.

Vignette 21. Ineffectiveness of the parallel support system of special and general education

Teacher interview

Teacher interview: Ms. Kim, Case 4.

(p. 9) Through my experience, I understand that the special class provides meaningful learning for those pupils who have difficulties in obtaining that in a mainstream class. However, S is different. He can do what the other pupils do and, more importantly, if he was given support, he could be better… (p. 10) I was thinking of a Learning Support Teacher (LST) and whether S could be given individual support from her. If he was allowed to get support from her (LST) as his individual tutor during the class, it would be helpful for him… I am confused about who takes this role, whether Special Education Assistant (SEA: support assistant) or LST... If he had not had SEN entitlement, I would have arranged LST support for him. S has been given speech therapy, provided in the special class, but I question whether he needs speech therapy…

[12] Learning Support Teacher (LST): A teacher who provides learning support during (and after) class for those pupils in P4, 5 and 6 who failed to achieve the minimal national standard in three subjects reading, writing and maths, when they were P3. (Kim, 2015; Seoul Metropolitan office of Education, 2017)

7.5.2. Inclusive approach to support assistance (2): enriching the class community

The other case (*Case 5*) which showed an inclusive approach revealed that the teacher saw difference and difficulty as human conditions and believed that any difficulty or needs should be responded to by the class community. She took responsibility for every pupil and made an effort to make her practice more inclusive but emphasised the mutual responsibility of the whole class. The support assistant's help was considered to be just one form of support alongside peer support and her (the teacher's) own support. All, pupils, teacher and assistant, were equally important members of the community. As in *Case 4*, the teacher's inclusive thinking and practice had developed through reflection on experience. *Vignette 22* gives details.

Vignette 22. Inclusive approach to support assistance: enriching the class community

Teacher interview

Teacher interview: Ms. Lee, Case 5.

(Principle 1) Difficulties and differences are respected by the teacher and are dealt with through mutual engagement between teacher and learners. Receiving a bonus in pay for having an SEN pupil is questioned by that teacher (the beneficiary). Implementing inclusive education by special pedagogy because 'some pupils are different and require additional provision' is not that teacher's practice. The teacher's view of pupils is that all are equal although official policy says otherwise.

(p. 13) At first, I focused on 'special education needs and the pupil with SEN'. As I have thought more and more about it, I realised that 'Yes, everybody is different! In the past, I divided pupils into two groups, special class pupils and general class pupils…. However, everybody is different. Everyone is slightly different. There was a turning point… I was with J. He had SEN entitlement but he did not attend special class. Actually he did not need it. Physical shape was the only difference. That is why he had SEN entitlement… He was a member of our class… However, at the end of that year, I was given extra credit at Teacher Assessment. I was embarrassed and unhappy. I could not accept that spending time with J was rewarded financially. That was a turning point at which my perspective changed.

(Principle 2) The teacher takes responsibility for every pupil. She reflects on her practice and has built a partnership with her pupils. From her perspective, the form and context of support is flexible according to how the members of the class community interact with each other.

(pp. 5, 6) I do not think I run a class differently depending on whether I have a pupil with SEN. It depends on how the class community makes things. When the assistant is

not present, support for S (the SEN pupil) is available, depending on his partner. If his partner is good at English and finishes his/her task earlier, or if the partner is kind to him, they help him- it works in that way… We change seats (in the English classroom) every two weeks. If his partner struggles with his/her own task, sometimes I help the partner and then the partner helps S. When I am available to support pupils, I also support S.

(p. 9) Several years ago, I was with an autistic boy. When I had him, I asked the Special Class Teacher what I could do for him and in what subject, to what level and how I could make teaching plans. At that time, I was confident about knowing his strengths. He was good at speaking and singing… I was also with another boy, M (an SEN pupil) after that. At that time, I looked after him as a childminder. His mum expected me to do so. When I reflect on it, I could have planned the lesson to include him if I had made the effort to fit him in.

(Principle 3) She considers the support assistant to be not only a member of the class who helps to build the class community but also and adult role model. Although she does not criticise official policy, she clearly sees support assistance as of benefit to any pupil in the class community.

(p. 7) When pupils ask Mrs. Choi (the assistant) for help, if she is available and is able to do it, she helps, and that is desirable for the class … (p.8) I have not drawn a picture about the direction (expectation) of the role of the support assistant. We can do that together… Even though she comes into the classroom to help S, the justification for S being in the mainstream class is that he is together with the other children. We all are members of one society. In the bigger picture, Mrs. Choi is not here only for S. If she wants to show S how to live together with others, she has to be a role model.

In those two cases (Cases 4 and 5), both teachers exercised responsibility for every pupil. Support was not considered to be an absolute condition for having an SEN pupil. They saw support rather as a resource that should be accessible and beneficial for all pupils to enrich their learning and participation in the class community.

Where a teacher's inclusive practice is matched by inclusive use of support assistance, both the assistant and the class teacher support a wider and common range of pupils in the class community. Lim, Wong, and Tan (2014) urge having a common goal for collaboration to improve practice in working with a support assistant. Where more issues are shared, communication becomes more natural and a good working relationship can be formed. The interviews revealed that those teachers valued the assistants' contributions to their classes but had no official support for their highly inclusive practice. Those teachers worked closely with other professionals (native-speaking English teacher and Sports Teacher) for all of the pupils but both exercised less active partnerships with their support assistants.

7.6. Inclusive approaches: minimum and maximum use of support assistance

Under the 'additional' approach: minimum use of assistance is inclusive.
Under the 'all of the pupils' approach: maximum use of assistance is inclusive.

7.6.1. Everybody is important, pupils, assistant and teacher

Applying the "additional approach" policy, practice showed the main work of assistants to be supporting pupils with SEN, so that partnership between teacher and assistant was seldom apparent. On the other hand, as seen in Chapter 7.5 on the "inclusive" approach, both the *Case 4* teacher and *Case 5* teacher, whose practice was highly inclusive, questioned the exclusive application of support assistance to certain pupils, a question raised in previous research (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Blatchford, Webster, et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2010, 2013; Thomas et al., 1998). Based on respect for human diversity, they considered support to be an essential part of learning in the class community, whoever it involved. Support assistance was valued as supplementary to the teacher's responsibility for all of the pupils.

However, apart from a common "supplementary" view of support assistance, teachers' views of support assistance can differ slightly. That difference appears in previous research. Two studies, Florian & Linklater (2010) and Black-Hawkins & Florian (2012), advocate every pupil's participation under the teacher's eye but give examples that contradicted Principle 3, 'working with others'. The spectrum of 'others' is wide and how a support assistant is used will vary accordingly.

In one study (Florian & Linklater, 2010), the teacher shared responsibility with pupils under the concept of 'co-agency' and the support assistant's involvement was dispensed with. That study challenged the arrangement, whereby a support assistant worked with a supported pupil only outwith the classroom so that the pupil and assistant were excluded from the class community. In that study, the assistant was not included in the 'working with others' category and support assistance was regarded as additional provision for certain learners. In the other study (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012), however, the assistant was included as one of the 'others' under the third principle and, in partnership with the class teacher, was used for anyone who needed help. Both of those arrangements constituted inclusive practice according to the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). The forms of support assistance and of the function of an assistant in a class were quite different, however.

Where an assistant is considered to be an additional or optional support resource, the most inclusive practice is that which minimises the assistant's input and maximises the teacher's interaction with the class. Not having support assistance can be a form of inclusive practice. However, if support assistance is available in the classroom and to all of the pupils, a quite different form of inclusive practice may be of benefit to pupils and teacher.

The *Case 5* teacher saw the support assistant as a member of the class community who would contribute to the class. Where the teacher takes responsibility for all of the pupils and the assistant is included in the class too, support assistance can be used for class learning and class life. In this sort of case, the maximum use of support assistance, i.e., for all of the pupils, is regarded inclusive practice. Although the view of support by the *Case 4* teacher was similar to that of the *Case 5* teacher, the *Case 4* teacher questioned the need for the presence of a support assistant. She saw a problem in the SEN pupil's over-dependence on the support assistant. She also believed that it would make the assisted pupil special (not equal) and had negative consequences for both the assisted pupil and the other pupils. She did not deny the value of support assistance but there was inconsistency between the teacher's inclusive practice and her attitude to support assistance. In that case, the support assistant was seen as additional to the class and support assistance itself was seen as something additional.

In the other case discussed, *Case 6*, in which policy was disregarded in practice, that argument is carried further. The teacher's support of inclusive practice in terms of respecting individual differences and exercising responsibility for everybody was evident. Her thinking and action revealed that every learner mattered, so differences were respected and individual needs were responded to. That teacher's constant, spontaneous and proactive support was applied to all of the pupils. However, she preferred not to have a support assistant in class as she considered that to be a barrier to inclusive education. The vignette below gives details.

Vignette 23. Minimal use of support assistance as inclusive practice

Class observation and teacher interview

Case 6

Analysis of class observation: Art, Maths and Social Studies

According to the teacher's preference, the amount of support assistance has been reduced from 8 hours per week in 4subjects to 1 hour in one subject. (The assistant was not present in the observation.)

The teacher gives a lot of attention to every individual, including B (the pupil with SEN). She manages to give an individualised task to B while giving task instruction to the other pupils. Her support is constant and she keeps an eye on everyone. The pupils, including B, often ask the teacher questions or ask her to check their work. Peer support is natural and constantly encouraged by the teacher during the lesson. B is encouraged to do the tasks by himself as far as he could. When he struggles, support is given progressively. B generally works hard. Whenever he makes a noise or stops concentrating on the task, that is dealt with promptly by the class teacher.

Including all of the pupils - the teacher tries to include all of the pupils during the lesson.

Monitoring everybody's progress before moving on to the next step.
(p. 7) Before moving on to painting a landscape, the teacher checks how many have finished the rough sketch.
Encouraging peer support to teach and to learn from one another.
(p. 3) *"If you've done all the tasks, walk around and help your peers. Jieun, you go to Hyeri and help her."*
(p. 4) *"This activity is not an exam, but for helping your peers who are struggling, for sharing the snacks (that had been used for analysis of the nutrition fact table - Maths) and for finding out whether your own understanding is wrong. Please help one another!"*
(p. 7) *"Let's paint now. B, will you go and get water?" "Oh, Jee-woo (a boy), are you going to get water? B, go with him and get water, only half of the bucket!"*

Individual support - she gives a lot of attention to individuals to include all the pupils.

The teacher constantly monitors and gives feedback to individual pupils (as part of the lesson).
(pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9) When any of pupils comes to the teacher and asks her anything, she responds to every question.
(p. 2) *"How about using coloured pencils for this?"*
(pp. 4, 6, 8, 9, 10) She walks around the class and teaches individuals or groups struggling to do the given task.

(Routine for B) B's own task first and then the lesson related task.
(p. 2) While she is giving instructions to the class, she says*: "B, take out your red-book (his personal phonics learning book)"* and she opens the book.
(p. 3) *"I am going to give you a task, take out your coloured pencils. Here is a snack box (being used by other pupils to analyse nutritional facts). Write the letters on it and draw it. You should do this like your peers do." … "Well done, B. But there is something missing, go and complete it." "Do you see this letter? Pa-- "*

Task support to B.
(p. 5) When B is struggling to use a pencil sharpener while the teacher is giving quiz answers to the class, she says, *"B, give it to me."* and demonstrates how to use it (modelling). B keeps turning the sharpener's handle the wrong way. She demonstrates again how to use it and after he has sharpened his pencil, tells him, *"Put this (sharpener) back where it was."*
(p. 8) While walking around the classroom, she says*, "B, do you mean this to be a river?" How about using blue?"* (B wants the teacher to do it.) *"I'm not doing it. You have to do it. I'll tell you how to do it. It's too dark. Put some water here…"*

Helping B with personal needs.
(p. 2) When she notices something on B's lips, *"B, go to the toilet and wipe your mouth".*
(p. 10) When she sees paint on B's arm, she wipes it off.
(p. 10) When she sees a timetable stuck on B's back, she first talks to B, asks questions and sees his reactions to work out what happened and then gets the pupils who are involved, identifies what happened and disciplines them.

Teacher interview: Ms. Oh.

(Principle 1) Based on respect for human dignity, the teacher believes that everybody can make progress.

(p. 2) I believe that pupils can make progress so I try to find what their strengths are. (p. 11) The most significant thing we have to bear in mind is, I think, that everyone is unique and equally important. Everyone in class should recognise that and we need to make effort for everyone to become an equal member of this society.

(Principle 2) She makes an effort to respond to everybody's needs and tries to deal with them in a fair way.

(p. 3) I make every effort to respond to any questions, request for help or even need of communication, from whoever, a well-performing pupil or an SEN pupil. (p. 6) The reason why B is included in my class is that we should have a positive impact on one another, on B, the other pupils and on me. And I can totally agree that all of the pupils should be included and it should work well. Therefore my attention as a teacher should be given equally to everyone. (p. 7) I deal with things when B is treated unfairly by others. B has difficulty in verbal expression but I can communicate with him. I ask him what happened and try to read his reactions. Then, I try to figure out what actually happened. He is equally important and should be respected. All of my class pupils should know that including B... (p. 10) Any issue that happens in my class is my responsibility.

(Principle 3) The teacher chooses not to work with the assistant due to the conflict between her inclusive approach and the exclusive effect of the current practice of the provision.

(p. 7) I do not agree with the idea that there is much help to be got from support assistants in general. (Ind.) I used to be with a pupil who had more severe difficulties than B... I preferred not to have the assistant in my class. The fundamental reason for implementing inclusive education is to encourage pupils with SEN to be part of a class community. However, the assistant kept trying not to allow any disturbance, which was a loss for the SEN pupils, and those interventions by the assistant created a disturbance.
(p. 13) If I was allowed to operate on my initiative, it would be more desirable as I could co-operate with her (the assistant) more effectively and could purse my perspective on "inclusive education" (including all in a fair way)… (p. 15) When I think about it from the pupil's stance, more people to support them would be bound to be beneficial as long as we operated a good partnership as regards roles.

As seen above, the *Case 6* teacher (Ms. Oh) made a lot of effort to actively engage all of the pupils in learning. She criticised the current practice of support assistant provision. In her perspective, there is an obvious conflict between her view and practice of inclusive education (inclusive approach) and the common practice of support assistant provision (exclusive approach). The teacher's view of support assistant provision is that it is additional and that, for full inclusion, support assistance has to be eliminated. From that perspective, the assistant was not included in the class community. The teacher dealt with the academic and personal needs of the SEN pupil that would usually, at least to some extent, be carried out by the support assistant in other cases.

On the other hand, the teacher considered that the universal availability of support assistance would be desirable if she had the authority to direct it. In other words, it was not that this teacher chose not to work with an assistant but that she chose not to work with an assistant who would be "additional" and would have an exclusive role in her class (and so, as in *Case 4*, might not be a member of the class community).

Before a teacher is encouraged to develop a partnership with a support assistant, the teacher's view of both the support assistant (additional or member of the class community) and support assistance should be ascertained. To make the support assistance fully inclusive, the teacher has to exercise responsibility for all of the pupils, the support assistant has to be available to help all of the pupils and the assistant should be counted among the "everyone", learners, teacher and whoever else works in the class.

7.6.2. To what extent has inclusive practice emerged from the integration policy?

Possibilities and Challenges

The practice of inclusive education in S. Korea is reviewed in light of how support assistance functions in mainstream classes.

First, it is still problematic that the "special for SEN pupils" approach ingrained as the main focus of the official provision implies that all pupils are not equal. The "additional" or "special" approach justifies the narrow application of support assistance to only the SEN pupil, as widely observed in most cases. This is implicit as an essential condition for accommodating SEN pupils in classes in which the teacher would take responsibility only for the other pupils. The practice of inclusive education still remains a form of integration in which the SEN pupil is required to fit into the general education system rather than one

in which the system is prepared to foster everybody's learning and participation in a mainstream class, for which Singal (2014) argues.

On the other hand, it is a common view of teachers and assistants that the narrow integration policy and the requirement of the support assistant provision does not take into consideration the actual circumstances that mainstream classes face. The evidence shows that, even without official foundation or change in policy or regulations, support assistance has been used more flexibly and inclusively than provided for in the formal structure. The actual form of support assistance (the amount of support and the range of pupils) might be extended or restricted by a class teacher but support assistance is naturally and effectively applied to a wider range of pupils and situations than stipulated due to the nature of class contexts in which diverse needs have to be met and the teacher is not available for every matter. A range of academic, behavioural and personal needs in non-SEN pupils were often recognised and dealt with by an assistant. Most teachers and assistants, even those whose practice was pervasively non-inclusive, saw the positive effects of that.

However, to regard support as "special" for just a pupil with SEN is not compatible with an attitude which includes all of the pupils in the classroom equally. More precisely, regardless of a wider availability of support assistance or the quality of the relationship between a support assistant and a class teacher, unless the teacher takes responsibility for all of the pupils, her/his practice is not inclusive practice. That was clearly manifest in the use of support assistance. In practice, with confidence or confusion, the special (or additional) approach underpinning support assistance was challenged by class teachers whose practice was inclusive because the assistance acted as a barrier for them. That is because, the class teacher, who is responsible for all of the pupils in the classroom and has the assistant in the classroom, lacks any control of the provision. Due to their lack of authority and the common and taken-for-granted practice of support assistance (for only SEN pupils), those teachers whose practice was inclusive did not extend inclusive thinking and actions to the use of support assistance. Instead, in practice, to embrace all the pupils in a fair way, those teachers minimised (or wanted to minimise) support assistance so as to exercise inclusive practice within the formal structure. They commonly took responsibility for everyone and actively communicated with pupils rather than initiating an active partnership with the support assistant. Here, minimum use of support assistance was implemented as inclusive practice. In such cases the teacher's inclusive practice in teaching and support, at least in part, has developed through their own experience and reflection, separate from the use of support assistance. Evidence of inclusive practice from those teachers is substantial. At the same time, since those teachers see the

exclusive application of support assistance as a barrier to inclusive practice but they consider support assistance itself as an essential part of learning for all of the class members, they are willing to use support assistance to make the class community flourish through building a partnership with the support assistant. From their perspectives, as an ideal, maximum use of support assistance for all of the pupils is regarded as inclusive practice.

Exceptionally, in one case, support assistance was actively used for the benefit of the whole class, with the teacher's inclusive practice. That situation, however, was based on the combination of a highly capable and responsible assistant and an appreciative teacher rather than on an initiative by the teacher.

Looking at practice from a different angle, support assistance sometimes seems to function as an aid for a teacher lacking confidence rather than simply wishing to relinquish responsibility. Such a situation may be transitional (toward inclusive practice) so that a teacher might develop inclusive practice as he/she gains experience and confidence. Moreover, elements of inclusive thinking and practice were evident even where non-inclusive practice was pervasive, with the teacher taking responsibility only for the non-SEN pupils and the assistant being considered essential for the SEN pupil as a primary instructor.

Even though inclusive practice is imperfect and inconsistent (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), if inclusive thinking and actions were recognised and if weight was given to the opinions of class teachers and assistants, the main stakeholders, inclusive practice could be developed further even under the prevalent integration policy. Such insight could lead to a change in policy and regulations. Inclusive pedagogy finds its justification here on practical grounds.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY and CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This concluding chapter includes a summary, conclusions (with acknowledgement of limitations) and a recommendation.

The summary briefly explains the study, including methods and procedure, findings and discussion of the research questions. This study is offered as a contribution to the development of inclusive practice in S. Korean schools, where integration is still the preferred form of inclusive education. The standard used for this study, the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), was systematically and flexibly employed to look at the practice of stakeholders responsible for implementing inclusive education in mainstream primary schools. The application of two relevant frameworks, the WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) and the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b) facilitated the systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of data. The summary ends with limitations identified and a recommendation.

8.2. Summary

This study has aimed to investigate the practice of support assistance in S. Korean mainstream primary schools. Conditions that would enable or enhance inclusive practice in that context have been identified. Support assistant provision in S. Korea is implemented by the special education sector based on a “special” approach to support for some pupils (pupils with SEN). Support assistance is implemented, however, in the mainstream sector in classes, like most classes everywhere, which include pupils of diverse needs. The study looked at how a teacher’s views and practice on teaching and support and the actual work of the support assistant create a classroom practice and whether and how that practice reflects official policy and guidelines. Implications for the

development of inclusive practice within the framework of the integration policy have been discussed in line with the ‘some/most and everybody’ approach.

The research subject is how teachers work with assistants. The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (IPA) (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) and Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) framework (Florian, 2014b) cover that subject under the third principle, ‘Working with others’ where an ‘other’ may be anyone from a range including teachers, nursery nurses, head teachers, learning support teachers and support assistants. After collecting evidence of teachers’ inclusive practice Florian (2014b), provided evidence of how the three principles could be applied practically in particular contexts. As in Chamber's work (2015), the framework emphasises the importance of partnership between professionals, of discussions between them and of respect for the human dignity of all the learners in a community.

This present research used an instrumental case study to view class practice through the teacher’s work with and relationship with the support assistant attached to the SEN pupil in the class. Seven mainstream primary classes in Seoul, S. Korea were chosen as cases. The main methods used were observation in class and interviews with mainstream class teachers. Assistants were interviewed to give a complete picture and for data triangulation. The modified WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) was used as reference for the data collection.

The three main questions to be answered were as follows.

First, under “Enactment of support assistant provision”, two subsidiary questions were answered by observing the operation of support assistance in the class and by interviewing support assistants.

a) **What support does the assistant provide, to whom and in what form?**
b) **What factors influence the work of the support assistant?**

The three components of the modified WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) were applied to identify the form of support and the context (which pupil(s) and when).

Observation revealed, as had an official inquiry (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2015), that support assistants usually helped SEN pupils attending mainstream classes. The role of the assistants varied across cases, but commonly observed roles were assisting with tasks and activities using modelling and verbal and physical prompts, encouraging participation and participating in activities together with the pupils with SEN. They also dealt with behavioural issues, helped with personal needs, taught social skills and manners and encouraged peer support.

At the same time, it was common to find a support assistant helping other non-SEN pupils. Observation caught some instances and assistant interviews gave evidence of much wider and more varied practice. Assistants who understood the needs of pupils and class circumstances tended to help others on their own initiative as situations required, e.g. in a dangerous situation in a swimming pool or in a disagreement between pupils. Commonly too, pupils would naturally ask the assistant for help, particularly in academic subjects, when the teacher was not available. Interestingly, even the support provided to the SEN pupil sometimes helped other pupils with different needs (e.g. copying sentences from a board to let the SEN pupil write was helpful for another pupil who had poor eyesight).

According to the assistants, some class teachers asked them to help other pupils. One pupil mentioned needed help but did not have the formal Statement of Need which would have identified him as having SEN. The range of pupils assisted, wider than stipulated by official policy, reinforced a finding from a previous national survey that there was a hidden population (in two thirds of classes in the middle school sector) who formally did not have Special Educational Needs but who were in need of extra help (Park et al., 2012). This present study not only confirmed the existence of that population but also showed that some of those pupils were being supported by assistants.

Most teachers saw the assistants' work with other pupils as being of benefit to the whole class community. Even a teacher whose view and practice was strongly driven by special pedagogy (a pupil with special needs requires teaching with qualitatively different methods and knowledge distinct from that required to deal with other pupils, Lewis & Norwich, 2005a) saw the benefit of an assistant's help to other pupils. All the assistants were unanimous that giving help to other pupils in the class worked to benefit of assisted pupils and the assistants themselves.

The scope of the assistants' responsibilities unsurprisingly varied. Two examples show the extremes. One assistant just sat beside the SEN pupil and did little. Pupil and assistant were usually disengaged from the lesson. Even when, occasionally, they took part in an activity, they did not follow the lesson and did not remain active for long. In a phrase used by Corbett (2001), the assistant was 'kept in the dark'. In this case, unsurprisingly, 'support' was confined to the SEN pupil. At the other end of the spectrum, an assistant was highly active in giving help, adjusted the level of difficulty of a task so that the SEN pupil could take part and encouraged the independence of assisted pupils through deliberately reducing the level of support. That assistant also helped other pupils in various ways. The class teacher regarded that assistant as a second teacher.

As other research has already found in different contexts (Chambers, 2015; Warhurst et al., 2014; Webster et al., 2011), the making of pedagogical decisions by assistants was common across the cases studied. Assistants took on a range of pedagogical roles, including instructors for their SEN pupils (e.g. by adjusting levels of difficulty, deciding when to withdraw and deciding what additional material to provide at any point during a lesson). There was inconsistency between the assistant's status and actual role. An assistant in S. Korea cannot take over a teacher's responsibility as she/he is not a qualified teacher (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2015). However, this present study found wide acceptance and appreciation by class teachers that assistants would use their own expertise to make decisions about SEN pupils. Some teachers seemed to render responsibility for the pupil with SEN completely to the assistant while others simply did not know how to include that pupil in a lesson. In examples of the latter, *Case 1 and Case 2*, the assistant suggested to the teacher a way of letting the SEN pupil take part in a lesson, a suggestion that was appreciated by the teacher. Regarding those teachers' perceptions of the assistant as having more expertise may allow a teacher to evade the task of teaching a pupil with SEN. On the other hand, respect for an assistant's expertise and extent of knowledge of a particular pupil could help a teacher to develop inclusive practice in partnership.

Factors influencing the work of the support assistant were identified. All of the assistants said that class teachers hugely affected the way they worked. The teacher determined whether the assistant would be in the classroom at all and, to large degree, the level of assistance and the range of pupils to be assisted. The levels of involvement of SEN pupils in lessons and class life also differed according to the class teacher. Where a teacher welcomed an assistant's presence and help, the assistant provided more proactive help to the SEN pupil under the teacher's attention. In such cases, assistants also tended to provide help to a wider range of pupils. Where the class teacher was indifferent, however, both the assistant and the SEN pupils were, in effect, invisible. Two assistants described that situation as being like staying on "an island".

Another obvious influence was the Special Class Teacher (SCT), the line manager of the support assistant. She/he provides information to the assistant about the SEN pupil and gives general instructions about how to support that pupil. However, since the assistant works in the mainstream class and has first-hand knowledge of the support needs of the SEN pupil and others in the working environment, the assistant naturally communicates with the mainstream class teacher. Nevertheless, in the relational complexity of the structure, that was not always straightforward. Direct communication between class teacher and assistant was often resisted by the SCT. Help by the assistant

for other (non-SEN) pupils was also resisted by SCTs. As policy and law (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2014) stipulate, that inclusive education is part of special education. Ineffective communication between the stakeholders, together with the SCTs' ignorance of mainstream class circumstances, seems not to be driven by a deliberately unhelpful view or attitude on the part of individual SCTs but rather by an official structure and system that does not cater for the actual needs of pupils and for the circumstances that class teachers deal with. The gap between the expectations of the assistant's work as assigned by the SCT and the actual needs for support in the mainstream class led one assistant to say, "I am sandwiched". Despite the different contexts of support assistance, the relational complexity and tension revealed here between the teacher and the assistant mirrors the professional tension between the teacher and HLTA (Higher Level Teaching Assistant) noted by Hancock, Hall, Cable, and Eyres, (2010).

Second, in order to see support assistance in the context of the class, the teachers' views on support assistance were examined. The two questions asked were:

a) **How does each teacher see the support assistance and how does each apply it in practice?**
b) **How does the practice stand against the ideal of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA)?**

Styles observed ranged from conformity with the official model to the stretching of it beyond recognition. Factors in each case included the teacher's view and practice (the main factor) and the assistant's attitude to pupils' needs for support. The three principles of the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) were used to examine each teacher's view and practice. All of the seven cases could be located within identified forms of class practice. The four described briefly below are types.

Case 3 showed compliance with the official model. Based on a deterministic belief about ability to learn, the teacher did not take responsibility for teaching the SEN pupil, which was given instead to the assistant. That teacher was against extending the availability of support assistance to a wider range of pupils due to possible confusion in roles between her and the assistant.

The most common practice, the stretching of what was officially prescribed, was evident in two different types of case, *Case 5,* driven by inclusive thinking, and *Case 1*, driven by exclusive thinking. The teacher in each case made an effort to include every pupil in the room and saw the universal availability of support assistance as being of

benefit to the whole class. However, whereas one saw every pupil, including the SEN pupil, as having the same potential to learn, the other did not. Inclusive practice in the latter case developed despite an exclusive mind-set. Inclusive practice does not always involve inclusive thinking.

Practice in *Case 6* complied with the letter of policy and the spirit of inclusion by dispensing with the support assistant. Previous research had found resistance to the presence of support assistants due to the pressure of having to brief them for lessons (Choi & Lee, 2009; Ko, 2009). However, in the case, the rationale for not admitting a support assistant was a perceived conflict between the full inclusion of all of the pupils in the classroom and the provision of separate support assistance to that one (SEN) pupil. The teacher did not regard having the support assistant as helpful. The duration of support was minimised and the teacher preferred to work with the parents of the SEN pupil. An assistant from *Case 2* also recounted her side of not being allowed into a classroom, not because that would be a burden for the teacher but because of the teacher's intention to fully include the SEN pupil in the class community without external support. Consistent with the research, conducted by Florian and Linklater (2010), teachers tried to build a class community with all the pupils in the class and tried to accommodate any difficulties and challenges in that community without a support assistant.

Thirdly, the functioning of the provision was assessed against the standard of the IPAA. The two questions asked were:

a) **How is the approach of 'some or most/everybody' applied to the research?**
b) **What factors applying to support assistance contribute to or inhibit inclusion?**

How should practice be interpreted according to the theoretical framework? This was the question at the next stage of the study. Although, because of complexity and diversity in context (Warhurst et al., 2014), none of the forms of class practice observed were perfectly inclusive or exclusive (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), there were recurring conditions and circumstances that set a tone as inclusive or not. Through identifying conditions and circumstances that made support assistance inclusive in effect, the work of the support assistant in the class was investigated against the standard of 'including every pupil'. The assessment of an 'everybody approach' as opposed to 'some or most (i.e. except the SEN pupil)' was reviewed. The approaches ('everybody' and 'some or most') were looked at in two aspects, 1) the availability of support assistance, and 2) the exercise of the teacher's responsibility. Inclusively minimum support and inclusively maximum support were discussed.

Regarding the availability of assistance, a wider application of support assistance to the class community than stipulated by policy was, to a greater or lesser extent, a common phenomenon. As seen in “6.2.2 Support assistance: benefitting other (non-SEN) pupils”, there were a range of circumstances and conditions which broadened the application of the assistance. Regardless of the official exclusion of non-SEN pupils from the scope of the assistant’s help, those pupils in practice naturally benefitted.

The wider availability of support assistance appeared where the teacher’s thinking and practice were inclusive and the assistant responded to the needs of pupils. It could also appear, however, where the teacher’s practice was not inclusive. An inclusive form (wider use) of support assistance does not always derive from a teacher’s inclusive practice. As an example in *Case 2*, the teacher worked in partnership with the support assistant for the benefit of the whole class and the teacher was as concerned for the SEN pupil as for the other pupils. Nevertheless, that teacher considered the assistant to be the primary instructor for the SEN pupil and left almost every decision regarding that pupil to her. The class teacher was supportive to decisions made by the assistant but did not exercise any other responsibility for the SEN pupil. Having a deterministic view of a pupil’s ability to learn and considering himself not capable of teaching that pupil, led that teacher to regard support assistance as indispensable for that SEN pupil in a mainstream class. Here, regardless of the availability of support assistance, the class practice still followed “all except SEN pupils” with the ‘some or most’ approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011) and support assistance was regarded as necessary for the attendance of the SEN pupil.

The other example of “all except SEN pupils” approach appeared in *Case 7*, where the teacher saw pupils as strictly divided according to SEN entitlement and treated the pupil with SEN in a different way from the rest. She expected the other pupils to treat the pupil with SEN in the same way as she did, so that responsibility for supporting him would be shared by the class. According to that teacher, the other pupils treated that SEN pupil like a younger brother or sister. That was seen as positive by the teacher as the pupils were kind to him. Based on a deterministic view of ability to learn, the teacher relied on the assistant to educate the SEN pupil. The assistant made all the decisions. The teacher valued the support assistance and her expertise. She exercised no direct responsibility for that pupil while the assistant was present. Interestingly, however, when the assistant was not in the classroom, that teacher made an effort to involve the SEN pupil as a way of benefiting other pupils, too, e.g., by adding more physical movement and using audio and video resources in the lesson. In that class, the support assistant was used to relieve the teacher of responsibility.

As seen above in the two cases of "all except SEN pupils" *Case 2* and *Case 7*, a teacher's acceptance of responsibility for all pupils (Principle 2 and a core element of Inclusive Pedagogy), is still the most important factor which determines whether a practice is inclusive or not. Although all of the class teachers recognised their responsibilities for all of their pupils including the SEN pupil, how they exercised that responsibility differed from individual to individual. The inclusive approach itself took different forms according to the different uses of support assistance. To determine how support assistance would function in any particular context, the mainstream class teacher's views and practice were more significant than the assistant's role and what range of pupils were supported.

Where a teacher's practice was inclusive, support assistance could be seen as a barrier to inclusion. A teacher has a responsibility to be fair to every pupil, in terms of attention, teaching and support. Teacher and pupils interact actively in a lesson. However, support assistance is an optional extra. In the view of the *Case 6* teacher, favouring just the SEN pupil by providing a personal assistant might have effectively cut that pupil off from the teacher and from peers as has been found in other research (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012; Giangreco, 2013; Webster et al., 2013; Williams & O'Connor, 2012). The teacher used the same word as the assistants had: "island". To avert that, that teacher decided not to work with the support assistant, who represented "special help for one". The teacher's notion of inclusion was to treat the SEN pupil as just one among others. In her practice, as observed, all of the pupils were equally important.

Fully inclusive practice requires the operation of two elements, 1) the exercise of responsibility by the teacher for all of the pupils, including any SEN pupils and 2) the availability of support assistance to all. In such cases, support assistance is regarded as an asset for everybody's learning and for enriching the class community. The ideal, however, is difficult to achieve in a system which deploys assistants as additional support solely for an SEN pupil. Support assistance may be the main instrument of educational inclusion but inclusion there may still be no more than integration. Due to the service delivery system and its source in the special education sector, mainstream class teachers' views were not considered and a division between special and general sectors was taken for granted.

Where a teacher's practice is inclusive, so that difference and difficulties are respected and it is believed that every pupil can make progress and can make use of support, support assistance can work well as a complement to the teacher's main teaching role. *Case 5* was a good example, where the teacher exercised responsibility for all of the pupils and was willing to use support assistance for any pupil. Other forms of support, peer support and support by other professionals, were fully used in the same way. The

notion of ‘everyone’ includes all of the pupils, the teacher, the assistant, and whoever is present in the class. They all contribute to the class community.

Although class teachers whose practice was broadly inclusive were not actively inclined (or had given up trying) to extend their inclusive practice to their use of support assistance, from their perspective, support assistance is considered as an asset to benefit anyone in the class to flourish the class community. While practice is still inconsistent and imperfect, the evidence of inclusive thinking and actions recognised by the IPAA (Florian, 2014b) in the S. Korean context is substantial, and apparent even in aspects of cases where the teacher’s practice is widely non-inclusive.

The Inclusive pedagogical approach is not only a reference standard for inclusive practice but also takes account of the actual circumstances and needs of mainstream classes. The collected evidence and implications would give a voice to class teachers and support assistants, the actual stakeholders in inclusive education, with the prospect of further official inquiry into something which provides equality in teaching and support for all pupils.

8.3. Contribution

This study aimed to see the reality of class practice in S. Korea viewed (and challenged or justified) by the main stakeholders viz. the mainstream class teacher and the support assistant, to identify the conditions in which support assistance functioned inclusively and to identify challenges and possibilities relating to the development of inclusive education in practice. Class observation looked at phenomena and provided useful evidence of what support assistants did in the mainstream classes and of who was being supported in what situations. Common factors were identified, as was a wide variation in the boundaries of roles and responsibility.

Inclusive education has been implemented in S. Korea in the form of integration. Previous research on support assistance in S. Korea had focused on the SEN pupil’s participation (M. Park, 2010) and on how other pupils and class teachers viewed assistants and the assisted pupils (Bae, 2011; Choi, 2009; Choi & Lee, 2009; Ko, 2009). Those studies took for granted that pupils were divided according to Statement of Need. Pupils with SEN were also examined with regard to the attitude of non-SEN pupils towards

them, an exercise criticised by Slee (2011). As Singal (2014) says, rather than the education system fostering individual development, the pupils emerged as resilient survivors of the system. However, this study viewed practice in terms of whether it provides inclusive education for all of the pupils in a class, including any SEN pupil. 'Inclusive education is for everyone' not only follows the current international flow but also takes account of the actual needs for support in the classes and considers the dilemmas that class teachers face.

Different approaches and views lead to different results and implications. Although policy encompassing inclusive education and support assistant provision is driven by special pedagogy and is based on providing an 'additional approach' for some (pupils with SEN), this study has found various forms of inclusive thinking and practice driven by the 'everybody approach'(Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011).

Where a teacher took sole responsibility for all of the pupils and where support assistance as provided would have divided them, minimising support assistance was a form of inclusive practice. Equally, of course, where the teacher took responsibility for all of the pupils, maximising support assistance, so that the assistant was available to help any pupil, was considered to be inclusive. Actual practice can be justified by its theoretical basis. Where policy sees integration as inclusion, practice may have to stretch the bounds of policy to take inclusion forward. If the voice of teachers whose practice is inclusive are listened to, fully inclusive practice may become the standard.

The evidence was collected, analysed and interpreted by the systematic combination of two frameworks, viz. the WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, et al., 2012) and the IPAA framework (Florian, 2014b). To look at the phenomena of the study - the use of support assistance - logically and systematically, the WPR model was modified to suit the research context and was used for collecting and collating the data. The three components of the framework were used to identify support assistance in its various forms, its nature, context and interaction. To record aspects of practice as inclusive or not, codes were developed under the three principles of the IPAA framework and, through coding, thematising and quantifying the data, the pattern of practice in each class became clear. The IPAA framework, as the theoretical ground and the data interpretation tool, was effective and flexible enough to explain the various forms of complexity of practice.

The IPAA framework developed in the U.K., worked to explain practice in a quite different context, S. Korea. Although policy and the considerations of inclusive education and those of special education are quite distinct, there were common features in class circumstances, e.g., a range of pupils' needs and the limited availability of a teacher's

time for individual help. The framework itself also took account of key decisions on use of resources and class teachers' views on learning, teaching and support.

From a methodological stance, Principle 3, 'Working with others' was applied together with Principles 1 and 2. Principle 3 is unique in that it involves another party or parties. According to the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach, Principle 1) 'Respecting differences and difficulties as elements of the human condition' and Principle 2) 'Exercise by the teacher of primary teaching responsibility for all of the pupils', are pre-conditions to 'working in partnership' inclusively (Principle 3). In determining whether 'working with others' is inclusive or not, the core idea of 'including every pupil in the exercise of the teacher's responsibility' is crucial. Even where support assistance is available to all of the pupils, there is not inclusion unless the teacher exercises responsibility for all of them, including any SEN pupils, as otherwise those SEN pupils will be primarily instructed by an assistant and will not be included as equal members of the class community. The three principles are distinct but related. They effectively identified each teacher's unique way of developing inclusive practice, any contradictions or the consistency within or between thinking and actions, and the challenges and possibilities of implementing inclusive practice. All of those elements would inform the development of policy and practice and the framework.

This research into teachers' practice also has implications for continuing professional development and initial teacher education in S. Korea. The study invites mainstream class teachers to have an opportunity to reflect on their practice through examining how and why certain practices have developed, what the challenges are that they face and how those challenges may be dealt with.

Due to the fact that the research interest regarding special and inclusive education in S. Korea has been mainly about identifying the effectiveness of certain teaching and learning methods (e.g., developing a teaching method to improve short-term memory for certain learners) a range of useful teaching strategies and tactics were shared among academics and practitioners. However, there remained the question of whether/how those could be put into practice where learners' needs were diverse and often complex. They might depend on each teacher's own inclination because, according to individual perspectives, e.g., social constructivist and positivist, views of phenomena will vary. But on what would that inclination be based and how could that be investigated? More importantly, the context of an application of any teaching method might be individual according to the unique dynamics of a class as identified in the use of support assistance in this present research. For example, if a teaching method is considered as special treatment only for certain learners and other methods are applied to other pupils, the

learners will obviously be divided according to the teaching method. However, if a method is applied to learning and teaching for 'everyone' (as was seen *Case 5* in the analysis of the class observation note on 6.5.2), that will foster equality. In that case, the teacher said, *"For the benefit of pupils absent last time, everyone the sentences repeat loudly!"* The participation and engagement of all individuals mattered equally.

The integration policy displays gaps and contradictions when set against the ideal of inclusive education and 'Education for All' as an international agreement but the actual implementation of that policy shows wide differences in practice in terms of the quality of education in teaching, learning and support in class. Even though the national curriculum is standardised as 'material' to be taught, how it is taught in what context is hugely determined by choices and decisions relating to teachers' understanding of difference, difficulty and disability and how they perceive and take their responsibility.

Where differences and difficulties are understood as part of human diversity, they are considered as a challenge by the teacher (*Case 6*) or as a dynamic of class community (*Case 5*). Ms. Kim in *Case 4* applied peer tutoring to all which was firstly initiated to deal with a certain learner's difficulty.

(Ms. Oh in *Case 6*) *Every pupil has moods. B has difficulty in verbal expression but I can communicate with him. My attention as a teacher should be given equally to everyone… He is equally important and should be respected… Any issue that happens in my class is my responsibility.* (Vignettes 21 and 23).

(Ms. Lee in *Case 5*) *I think that differences between pupils such as learning capacity, personality and ways of learning can be challenged and improved by mutual effort by me and the pupils… If communication between the pupils goes well, less support is needed from the assistant. It does not depend on the level of disability or difficulty that any pupil has…* (Vignette 11)

(Ms. Kim in *Case 4*) *Everybody can give and take help. There is not a particular weaker one who alone and always needs help - there are circumstances that require help… Not only for S, there are a range of timelines for pupils to finish a task, Pupils who finish early have become peer tutors. At first, I was thinking about S but it is helpful for the whole class.* (Vignette 20)

Those teachers' inclusive practices have developed through reflecting on their practice. The three teachers (in *Cases 4, 5* and *6*) said that they realised that dividing learners according to any SEN statement was wrong and did not work well. Through consistently reflecting on mistakes, they came to respond to individual differences while making their teaching meaningful to everybody. So the pupils in those classes were fully engaged in lessons with teacher's support and feedback and with peer support. 'Respect for one another' among the class members was a major asset in the class community. The support provided by the assistant is one of the available resources, not an essential resource. Even under the integration policy, there is no 'special need' where the notion of

inclusive education is be reconstructed with greater prominence to diversity and respect for individual difference.

Where a teacher was willing to develop inclusive practice and recognised her/his responsibility but lacked confidence, an experienced support assistant could give the necessary advice. The support assistant's work there fills the gap between the ideal inclusive practice that the teacher would like to establish and the reality of not being sure how to achieve that. It might not be ideal practice relative to the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach and it could be a unique form. Even where the use of support assistance has been exclusive, the rationale for the practice may indicate ways to develop inclusive practice.

On the other hand, in those cases where difficulties in learning were considered as deficiencies in learners and where they made the teacher apprehensive, she/he was inclined to give up her/his responsibility for the pupils with SEN. Such teachers tend to expect others (e.g., special class teacher or assistant) to deal with them. They do not consider themselves as primary instructors for all pupils but just for most.

This research does not aim to label any form of practice as successful or not. Challenges and possibilities were identified in unique cases in which teachers made efforts to accommodate diversity in different ways. According to the teacher's understanding of learners, there was variation in the level of confidence to take responsibility and in the quality of participation and engagement of all pupils. In the four cases (*Cases 1, 4, 5, 6*) in which practice was widely inclusive relative to the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011), the attitude of benevolent and special treatment had been replaced by the fundamental values of inclusive practice, fairness, equality and equity, the values of the 'everybody' approach.

Disseminating those cases would have implications for the continuing professional development of those facing challenges in dealing with difference on the part of learners. More data and scenarios may be expected to bring more questions but also more possibilities in the quest to develop inclusive practice. Teachers including student teachers could be invited to examine their notions, including assumptions, prejudices, and understanding regarding individual differences and difficulties in learning. They also could think of how the diversity of learners can be an asset in terms of dynamics of a class community. They could constitute relevant data to inform professionals' pedagogical decisions and an awareness of the assumptions behind those decisions.

This thesis could be of relevance to the development of inclusive practice not only in S. Korea but also in other educational contexts where the integration of pupils with SEN

into mainstream schools is matched by special support as compensation for disability. The distinct difference between the 'some/most' or 'everybody' approaches was effective in examining class practice in S. Korea and could be applied in any similar context.

Theory can improve practice but here, the evidence of inclusive practice under the policy of integration shows practice forming and reinforcing theory.

8.4. Limitations and recommendation

Due to the relatively short period (30 days) to which data collection (observation) was restricted by the local education authority, the number of units of class observation was reduced to twenty one, comprising three units from each of seven classes. Observation was the primary method of collecting data about support assistance in practice but data collected from interview (of teachers and assistants) provided background information about the classes and pupils with vivid examples from experience. Although observation and interviews gave a coherent picture, a larger number of units of observation would have helped to verify and reinforce what emerged from the reduced scope of the study. More cases with extended units of observation would have either brought to light different forms of practice or added more evidence of the forms identified.

Across the seven cases, along with differences in teachers' perspectives and class contexts, the particular conditions and severity of the disability of pupils with SEN also varied significantly. Although I did not observe correspondence between those differences and differences in the attitude of teachers to assistants and the work of the assistants, I did not specifically include that variable in this study, because, the research aim was to investigate each teacher's general understanding of inclusive education and support assistance and to observe their practice. However, each individual set of results may have been determined, or affected to some extent, by the perceived severity of needs of the particular SEN pupil at the time of the data collection. In this study, the condition of the SEN pupil was not considered as a variable that might influence a teacher's view on responding to pupils' needs or a teacher's perspective on support assistance and how to work with an assistant.

In addition, as assistants' level of ability, experience and attitudes differed (see 6.3.in Chapter 6), teachers' views on support assistance may have been affected to some extent

by the quality of support and character of the particular assistants with whom they were working at the time. Although differences between assistants in terms of role and level of responsibility were recognised, more significant for this study were teachers' views of support assistance.

Dividing the principles of the framework into two parts (for the individual and social dimensions, in terms of whether other professionals were involved in a lesson) allows for two unique paths (individual or social) of developing the practice of inclusive education and for flexible views of inclusive practice which might have equally promising potential. Future research might profitably look at teacher's practice through both lenses, social and individual, for evidence contributing to the development of inclusive practice. Although completely inclusive practice is the ideal and the ultimate aim, any inclusive element which can be shown to work well may encourage or persuade teachers who are still struggling to include all of their pupils fully in their lessons.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Inclusive Pedagogical Approach (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011: 2012)

The inclusive pedagogical approach requires
1. Shifting the focus from one that is concerned with only those individuals who have been identified as having 'additional needs' to the learning of all children in the community of the classroom: • creating learning opportunities that are sufficiently made available for everyone, so that all learners are able to participate in classroom life; • extending what is ordinarily available for all learners (creating a rich learning community) rather than using teaching and learning strategies that are suitable for most alongside something 'additional' or 'different' for some who experience difficulties; and • focusing on what is to be taught (and how) rather than who is to learn it.
2. Rejecting deterministic beliefs about ability as being fixed and the associated idea that the presence of some will hold back the progress of others: • believing that all children will make progress, learn and achieve; • focusing teaching and learning on what children can do rather than what they cannot do; • using a variety of grouping strategies to support everyone's learning rather than relying on ability grouping to separate ('able' from 'less able' students); and • using formative assessment to support learning.
3. Seeing difficulties in learning as professional challenges for teachers, rather than deficits in learners, that encourage the development of new ways of working: • seeking and trying out new ways of working to support the learning of all children; • working with and through other adults that respect the dignity of learners as full members of the community of the classroom; and • being committed to continuing professional development as a way of developing more inclusive practices.

Appendix B. The Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) Framework (Florian, 2014b)

Assumptions	Associated concepts/actions	Key challenges	Evidence (What to look for in practice)
1. Difference is accounted for as an essential aspect of human development in any conceptualisation of learning	Replacing deterministic views of ability with those that view leaning potential as open-ended Acceptance that differences are part of human condition Rejecting idea that the presence of some will hold back the progress of others Believing that all children can make progress	'Bell-curve thinking' and notions of fixed ability still underpin the structure of schooling	Teaching practices which include *all* children (everybody) • Creating environments for learning with opportunities that are sufficiently made available for everyone, so that all learners are able to participate in classroom life; • Extending what is ordinarily available for all learners (creating a rich learning community) rather than using teaching and learning strategies that are suitable for most alongside something 'additional' or 'different' for *some* who experience difficulties; • differentiation achieved through choice of activity for everyone Rejection of ability grouping as main or sole organisation of working groups Use of language which expresses the value of all children Focusing teaching and learning on what children can do rather than what they cannot Social constructivist approaches, e.g. providing opportunities for children to co-construct knowledge (participation), Use of formative assessment to support learning.

(Continued)

Assumptions	Associated concepts/actions	Key challenges	Evidence (What to look for in practice)
2. Teachers must believe they are qualified/capable of teaching all children	Demonstrating how the difficulties students experience in learning can be considered dilemmas for teaching rather than problems within students	The identification of difficulties in learning and the associated focus on what the learner cannot do often puts a ceiling on learning and achievement.	Focus on what is to be taught (and how) rather than who is to learn it. Providing opportunities for children to choose (rather than pre-determine) the level at which they engage with lessons Strategic/reflective responses to support difficulties which children encounter in their learning
	Commitment to the support of all learners. Belief in own capacity to promote learning for all children	Many teachers believe some learners are not their responsibility	Quality of relationships between teacher and learner Interest in the welfare of the 'whole child' not simply the acquisition of knowledge and skills Flexible approach – driven by needs of learners rather than 'coverage' of material Seeing difficulties in learning as professional challenges for teachers, rather than deficits in learners.
3. Teachers continually develop creative new ways of working with others	Willingness to work (creatively) with and through others	Changing thinking about inclusion from 'most' and 'some' to everybody	Interplay between personal / professional stance and the stance of the school – creating spaces for inclusion wherever possible • Seeking and trying out new ways of working to support the learning of all children; • Working with and through other adults in ways that respect the dignity of learners as full members of the community of the classroom;

(Continued)

Assumptions	Associated concepts/actions	Key challenges	Evidence (What to look for in practice)
			• Being committed to continuing professional development as a way of developing more inclusive practices.
	Modelling (creative new) ways of working		In partnerships formed with teachers or other adults who work alongside them in the classroom Through discussions with other teachers / other professionals outside the classroom

Appendix C. The initial code list from the IPAA framework

*N: Negative
**P: Positive

1. Dealing with difference: in any conceptualisation of learning, difference is to be considered to be an essential aspect of human development.		
Code	Description	
Concept (1-C)		
1-C-1	Deterministic view of ability.	N*
1-C-2	Open-ended view of learning potential.	P**
1-C-3	Acceptance that differences are part of human condition.	P
1-C-4	Rejection of idea that presence of some will hold back progress of others.	P
1-C-5	Adherence to idea that presence of some will hold back progress of others.	N
1-C-6	Belief that all children can make progress.	P
1-C-7	Belief that some or most children can make progress.	N
Evidence (1-E)		
1-E-1	Creating an environment in which learning opportunities are sufficiently available in practice to all learners.	P
1-E-2	Creating (Accepting) an environment of learning opportunities for some or most.	N
1-E-3	Facilitating participation in classroom life by all learners.	P
1-E-4	Facilitating (Accepting) that some or most are able to take part in classroom life.	N
1-E-5	Extending to all learners what is ordinarily available.	P
1-E-6	Using teaching and learning strategies suitable for most alongside something 'additional' or 'different' (for those seen as different).	N
1-E-7	Achieving differentiation through choice of activity for everyone.	P
1-E-8	Rejecting ability as sole or main criterion for organisation of learning group.	P
1-E-9	Using ability as sole or main criterion for organising learning group.	N
1-E-10	Using language which assumes the value of all learners.	P
1-E-11	Using language which implies the lesser value of some learners.	N
1-E-12	Focusing teaching and learning on what children can do.	P
1-E-13	Focusing teaching and learning on what children cannot do.	N
1-E-14	Providing opportunities for children to construct knowledge (participation).	P
1-E-15	Using formative assessment to support learning.	P
2. Teachers' self-belief: that he/she is qualified to teach/capable of teaching all children.		
Concept (2-C)		
2-C-1	Belief that difficulties in learning is a dilemma for teaching.	P
2-C-2	Belief that difficulties in learning is a problem within learners.	N
2-C-3	Commitment to support of all learners.	P
2-C-4	Commitment to support of some or most learners.	N
2-C-5	Belief in own capacity to promote learning for all children.	P
2-C-6	Belief that some learners are not the class teacher's responsibility.	N
Evidence (2-E)		
2-E-1	Focusing on what is to be taught and how.	P
2-E-2	Focusing on who is to learn the lesson.	N

2-E-3	Providing for learners' choice of level at which to engage in a lesson.	P
2-E-4	Requiring learners to engage in a lesson at a pre-determined level.	N
2-E-5	Planning and reflecting on responses to difficulties which learners encounter in their learning.	P
2-E-6	Quality of relationship between teacher and child.	P/N
2-E-7	Interest in welfare of whole-child.	P
2-E-8	Interest in simply child's acquisition of knowledge and skills.	N
2-E-9	Flexible approach – driven by needs of learner for support.	P
2-E-10	Providing support in 'Coverage' of material for some.	N
2-E-11	Seeing difficulties in learning as professional challenge for teacher.	P
2-E-12	Seeing difficulties in learning as deficits in learners.	N
3. Working with others: teachers ought to continually develop creative new ways of working with others.		
Concept (3-C)		
3-C-1	Willingness to work (creatively) with and through others.	P
3-C-2	Unwillingness to work (creatively) with and through others.	N
3-C-3	Modelling (creative new) ways of working.	P
3-C-4	Working with others for aiming to include 'some or most'.	N
3-C-5	Working with others for aiming to include 'everybody'.	P
Evidence (3-E)		
3-E-1	Inviting and accepting the contribution of others.	P
3-E-2	Creating space for inclusion where possible.	P
3-E-3	Seeking and applying new ways of supporting the learning of all children.	P
3-E-4	Working with and through other adults in ways that respect the dignity of learners as full members of the classroom community.	P
3-E-5	Working with and through any other adult in such a way as to imply that any learner may not be a full member of the classroom community.	N
3-E-6	Being committed to continuing professional development as a way of developing more inclusive practice.	P
3-E-7	Working in partnership with other teachers or adults in the classroom.	P
3-E-8	Not working in partnership with other teachers or adults in the classroom.	N
3-E-9	Engaging in discussions of classroom matters with other teachers/professionals outside the classroom.	P
3-E-10	Not engaging in discussion of classroom matters with other teachers/professionals outside the classroom.	N

Appendix D. Additional code list in the final version

Principle one: Dealing with difference (3, shaded light yellow)	
n1C1	Difference is regarded as something special.
n1E1	Knowledge of special education is ideal or essential for supporting some learners.
n1E2	Considering children as passive learners in ways that limit participation.
Principle two: Teachers' self-belief (6, shaded light pink)	
n2C1	Belief that all learners ought to be taught and monitored primarily by teacher.
n2C2	Belief that some or most learners ought to be taught and monitored primarily by teacher.
n2C3	Belief that mainstream educational setting is beneficial for all.
n2C4	Belief that special school setting is better for some.
n2E1	Flexible approach to support – responsive to needs of circumstance
n2E2	Fixed approach to support – determined by learner's disability or difficulty
Principle three: Working with others (11, shaded light blue).	
n3C1	Belief that working with support assistant is helpful and meaningful to the whole class.
n3C2	Doubt that working with support assistant is helpful and meaningful to the whole class.
n3C3	More support by assistant is/would be better.
n3C4	Less or minimal support by assistant is/would be better.
n3E1	Unwillingness to seek or apply new ways of supporting learning for all children.
n3E2	Broadening the range of learners supported by assistant.
n3E3	Limiting the range of learners supported by assistant.
n3E4	Deciding (assigning) support provision on the basis primarily of learner's need.
n3E5	Deciding (assigning) support provision on basis of factors other than learner's need.
n3E6	Considering support assistance as special provision for one/some.
n3E7	Considering support assistance is helpful and beneficial to whole class.

Appendix E. Connection between codes and decisions to collapse and to rearrange

Connection/criteria	Codes.
Obvious: Over 65% co-appearance	(V.1) ~~2C3~~ with 2C5: 72%, 2C5 with 2C3: 76%; * ~~2C4~~ was also deleted as it paralleled ~~2C3~~ and had a meaning similar to 2C6. (V.1) 2E6 (5) appears always with ~~2C3~~ and 2C5. (V.2) ~~n3C1~~ with n3E7: 100%.
Possible: Either or both sides 40-65% co- appearance	(V.1) 1E1 with ~~1E3~~ (both sides). 1E2 with 1C7. 2E5 with 2E9. 2E7 with 2C5. 2E8 with 2E12. 3C1 with 3E3 (both sides). 3C1 with 3C3 (both sides). 3E10 with 3C2. ~~3E10~~ with 3E8. * 1E4 was also deleted as it is paralleled 1E3 and had a meaning similar to 1E2. (V.2) 1E13 with ~~n1E2~~ (both sides). 2C2 with n2C2. n3E2 with 3E7.n3E7 with ~~n3C1.~~ ~~n3C2~~ with n3E5 (both sides). (V.3) 2E9 with n2E1 (both sides). (V.1-4) 3C5 and ~~n3C1.~~

n3E6	Considering support assistance as special provision for one or some -- n3C5
n3E7	Considering support assistance as helpful and beneficial to whole class -- n3C6

Appendix F. The final version of the code list

: The code in initial version is in form of (0-0-0) and the newly added code is in form (n0-0-0), and number of appearance

*I: Inclusive (1) / E: Exclusive (2) **N: Neutral

1. Dealing with difference: In any conceptualisation of learning, difference is to be considered to be an essential aspect of human development.			I/E*
Code	Description		
Concept (1-C).			
1-C-1	Deterministic view of ability.	15	2
1-C-2	Open-ended view of learning potential.	8	1
1-C-3	Acceptance that differences are part of human condition.	16	1
n1-C-1	View that difference is something special.	7	2
1-C-4	Rejection of idea that presence of some will hold back progress of others.	5	1
1-C-5	Adherence to idea that presence of some will hold back progress of others.	1	2
1-C-6	Belief that all children can make progress.	15	1
1-C-7	Belief that some or most children can make progress.	7	2
Evidence (1-E).			
1-E-1	Creating an environment in which learning opportunities are sufficiently available in practice to all learners.	38	1
1-E-2	Creating or accepting an environment of learning opportunities for some or most.	5	2
1-E-5	Extending to all learners what is ordinarily available.	1	1
n1-E-1	Knowledge of special education is ideal or essential for supporting some learners.	4	2
1-E-6	Using teaching and learning strategies suitable for most alongside something ‘additional’ or ‘different’ (for those seen as different).	9	2
1-E-7	Achieving differentiation through choice of activities for all learners.	0	1
1-E-8	Rejecting ability as sole or main criterion for organisation of learning groups.	0	1
1-E-9	Using ability as sole or main criterion for organising learning groups.	0	2
1-E-10	Using language which assumes the value of all learners.	7	1
1-E-11	Using language which implies the lesser value of some learners.	0	2
1-E-12	Focusing teaching and learning on what children can do.	12	1
1-E-13	Focusing teaching and learning on what children cannot do.	14	2
1-E-14	Providing opportunities for children to construct knowledge (participation).	22	1
1-E-15	Using formative assessment to support learning.	1	1
2. Teachers’ self-belief: that he/she is qualified to teach/capable of teaching all children.			
Concept (2-C)			
2-C-1	Belief that difficulties in learning is a dilemma for teaching.	13	1
2-C-2	Belief that difficulties in learning is a problem within learners.	3	2
n2-C-1	Belief that all learners ought to be taught and monitored primarily by teacher.	21	1
n2-C-2	Belief that some or most learners ought to be taught and monitored primarily by teacher.	30	2
n2-C-3	Belief that mainstream educational setting is beneficial for all.	2	1
n2-C-4	Belief that special educational setting is better for some.	4	2
2-C-5	Belief in own capacity to promote learning for all children.	14	1
2-C-6	Belief that some learners are not the class teacher’s responsibility.	0	2

Evidence (2-E)			
2-E-1	Focusing on what is to be taught and how.	5	1
2-E-2	Focusing on who is to learn the lesson.	5	2
2-E-3	Providing for learners' choices of levels at which to engage in lessons.	3	1
2-E-4	Requiring learners to engage in lessons at pre-determined levels.	1	2
2-E-5	Planning and reflecting on responses to difficulties which learners encounter in their learning.	9	1
2-E-6	Quality of relationship between teacher and child.	13	1
2-E-7	Interest in welfare of whole-child.	5	1
2-E-8	Interest solely in child's acquisition of knowledge and skills.	5	2
2-E-9	Flexible approach – driven by needs of learner for support.	16	1
n2-E-1	Flexible approach to support – responsive to needs of circumstance.	9	1
n2-E-2	Fixed approach- determined by learner's disability or difficulty.	9	2
2-E-10	Providing support in 'coverage' of material for some.	0	2
2-E-11	Seeing difficulties in learning as professional challenge for teachers.	3	1
2-E-12	Seeing difficulties in learning as deficits in learners.	4	2
3. Working with others. Teachers ought continually to develop creative new ways of working with others.			
Concept (3-C)			
3-C-1	Willingness to work (creatively) with and through others.	13	1
3-C-2	Unwillingness to work (creatively) with and through others.	16	2
3-C-3	Modelling (creative new) ways of working.	0	1
3-C-4	Working with others, aiming to include 'some or most'.	6	2
3-C-5	Working with others, aiming to include 'everybody'.	23	1
n3-C-3	More support by assistant is/would be better.	6	N**
n3-C-4	Less or minimal support by assistant is/would be better.	7	N
n3-C-5	Considering support assistance as special provision for one or some.	6	2
n3-C-6	Considering support assistance as helpful and beneficial to whole class.	13	1
Evidence (3-E)			
3-E-1	Inviting and accepting contributions from others.	22	1
3-E-2	Creating space for inclusion where possible.	1	1
3-E-3	Seeking and applying new ways of supporting learning for all children.	3	1
n3-E-1	Unwillingness to seek or apply new ways of supporting learning for all children.	8	2
3-E-4	Working with or through other adults in ways that respect the dignity of learners as full members of the classroom community.	9	1
3-E-5	Working with or through any other adult in such a way as to imply that any learner may not be a full member of the classroom community.	2	2
3-E-6	Being committed to continuing professional development as a way of developing (more) inclusive practice.	2	1
3-E-7	Working in partnership with other teachers or adults in the classroom.	5	1
3-E-8	Not working in partnership with other teachers or adults in the classroom.	10	2
3-E-9	Engaging in discussion of classroom matters with other teachers or professionals outside the classroom.	8	1
n3-E-2	Broadening the range of learners supported by assistant.	10	1
n3-E-3	Limiting the range of learners supported by assistant.	3	2
n3-E-4	Deciding (assigning) support by assistant on the basis of learner's need.	0	1
n3-E-5	Deciding (assigning) support by assistant on basis of factor(s) other than learner's need.	2	2

Appendix G. **Research information flyer**

Research information flyer (1/2)

1. Research title:

Case study reflecting the practice of support assistant provision at mainstream primary schools in South Korea: the rationale for inclusive education.

2. Institution/Course/Name of Researcher:

The University of Edinburgh/ Ph. D in Inclusive Education/ Jiyoung Kim

3. Purpose of data collection:

To enable an analysis of the use of support assistants in mainstream classrooms with a view to assessing the viability of extending the availability of support assistance to all pupils

4. Duration:

The period for data collection is 27 May to 24 June 2016. Each class teacher (including subject teacher) and Special Education Assistant (an official title called support assistant in S. Korea) will be involved.

5. Criteria: classes:

Mainstream class whose teacher is working with support assistants in the classroom on a regular basis.

6. Process of data collection:

I intend, after having an induction meeting with participants, to observe classroom practice for 3- 5 units (each of 40 minutes) while the support assistant is involved. (I shall not be involved in any class activities.) Photographs may be taken but will be used only for analysing data. After observations, one interview will be conducted. The teacher involved will be invited to comment and to clarify any points raised by researcher. The support assistant can also be separately involved where necessary.

7. Schedule

The schedules, i.e., induction meeting, classroom observation and interviews, will be negotiated with teachers. The period of observation and interviews in each class will not exceed three weeks.

8. Participant's rights

Confidentiality and anonymity will be ensured through the use of pseudonyms for schools and participants. Collected data will be used only for the purpose of this research and will be destroyed once this research has been completed. Any participant has the right to withdraw at any stage. The data to be used for analysis and findings will only be such as has been agreed with the participants.

9. Financial compensation

Financial compensation will be provided to the participants, class teachers and their support assistants as overtime. Financial compensation will be calculated according to the total hours of participation, i.e., induction meeting, classroom observation and interviews.

10. Contact details

If you have any queries about any part of the process, please do not hesitate to contact me or supervisors. The details are below:

(Name, contact detail. /Supervisors' name and contact detail)

**** Thank you ****

Appendix H. Participant consent form

Participant Consent Form

Please read the sheet 'Research information flyer' before signing this consent form.

I have read Jiyoung Kim's "Research information flyer", and I understand what is involved in the:

'Case study reflecting the practice of support assistant provision at mainstream primary schools in Seoul: the rationale for inclusive education', which is the subject of her doctoral research at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, U.K.

I understand that the study will not identify me or use my name as well as any pupils who are engaged in the research context. I understand that I have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research.

Printed Name

E-mail Address

Signature **Date**

Bank Account

Contact detail

Name, contact detail.

Supervisors' name and contact detail.

Appendix I. The main structure of the teacher interview

	General topics of questions
Introduction	: Reminder of interviewee's right. : Introduction: the flow of the interview.
General class information	: Asks for general description of class and pupils. : Asks elaboration of observed class rules and of how class duties and seats are decided.
Dealing with difference	: Asks teacher's view on learning potential. : Asks in what ways learners are similar and in what ways are different. : Takes examples of the teacher's ways of responding to the similarities and differences (as well as strength and weakness) in lessons and classroom life and asks the rationales.
Teacher's self-belief	: Asks how a lesson is planned. : Takes observed examples of the strategies to use in the lesson (whether to include SEN pupil or not) and asks about the rationale of those situations, e.g., planning and changing the rules of the activities, interactions with pupils, responding to pupil's need. : Asks differences and similarities between running the class with the SEN pupil and without SEN pupils. Reasons for those. : Asks whether she/he would need support concerning the learning and teaching for SEN pupil included. When you would need support. Who advises you when you have concerns or news about the SEN pupil? Reasons.
Working with others	: Asks how the teacher views support assistance. Any change over the years. : Asks whether the teacher finds having the support assistant helpful. If not, why not. : Asks what kind of support the teacher would want from an assistant. Why. : Asks how class pupils view the assistant's presence/help and what view the teacher would like them to have. : Asks how the teacher communicates with the assistant. (If communication is difficult and not a routine, the reason for that.) : Takes an observed example of support assistance and seeks the view of that (e.g., the roles and pedagogical decision, range of pupils supported, interaction with pupils, etc.) : Asks similarities and differences between having and not having the support assistant in the classroom. : Asks how the teacher would use support assistance if she/he has discretion. : Asks what kind of courses or skills – training the teacher would consider if she/he could plan in-service programme for a support assistant. : Asks what assistant's presence and support mean for the class community.
Photo generation	: Asks teacher to describe two photos (different ways of using support assistance), to explain any differences or similarities and to state her/his preferred working style.

Appendix J. The main structure of the assistant interview

	General topics of questions
Introduction	: Reminder of interviewee's right : Introduction: the flow of the interview.
General information	: Asks how the assistant finds working at school as a support assistant and how the roles have evolved or changed during her/his career. : Asks her/him to describe generally the school and the class where she/he works.
Roles and responsibility in support assistance	: Takes the observed examples of support to the pupil with SEN including when withdrawn from the class (or an activity), and of additional material provided to the pupil with SEN and asks the rationale for those. e.g., how pupils with SEN are supported and how that support is planned and implemented. : Asks whether there is an SEN pupil that the assistant has supported for several years. If so, asks whether the assistant's role has been consistent. If not consistent, how it has changed. : Takes observed examples of supporting other pupils (non-SEN pupils) and asks the rationales for those. Asks how often the assistance gives such support and in what situations. : Asks whether and from whom the assistant seeks advice. : Asks whether the assistant's roles are similar or different between classes or between pupils. If different, in what ways. : Asks how the assistant communicates with class teacher /with the Special Class Teacher. (If the communication is difficult and not routine, why.) : Asks for example (or class) when her/his assistance was meaningful. Asks whether there has been a contrary experience.
Class community	: Asks how the assistant gets on in the class in which she/he works. : Asks how, when the assistant encounters an issue concerning the pupil in the class or support for pupils, she/he deals with it and from whom she/he seeks advice.
Photo generation	: Asks the assistant to describe the two photos (different ways of applying support assistance), to explain any differences or similarities and to state her/his preferred working style.

Appendix K. Observation sheet and raw data of observation schedule

(Front)

Observation Sheet

1. Observer
2. Date / Time
3. Name of Class / Class Teacher / Support assistant
4. Main Subject / Activities
5. Data collection methods: observation
6. Main focus: How does teacher work with support assistant in practice?

(Simple drawing)

Classroom (playground, science lab etc.) layout.

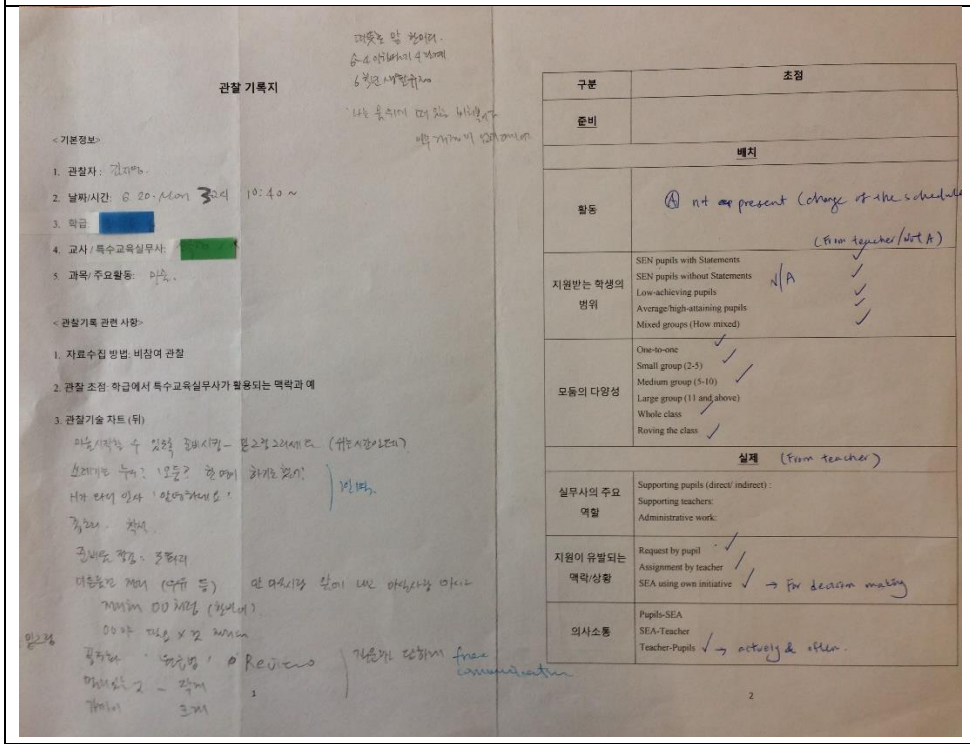
Location of teacher, assistant and pupils at the start.

Preparation	Daily preparation
Deployment	
Activities	
Range of pupils	SEN pupils with Statements SEN pupils without Statements Low-achieving pupils Average/high-attaining pupils Mixed groups (How mixed)
Variety of groups	One-to-one Small group (2-5) Medium group (5-10) Large group (11 and above) Whole class Roving the class
Practice	
Main work of Support assistant	Supporting pupils (direct/ indirect) : Supporting teachers: Administrative work:
Contexts in which support given	Request by pupil Assignment by teacher Assistant using own initiative
Communication	Pupils - Assistant Assistant - Teacher Teacher - Pupils

(Back)

Teacher and pupils	Support assistant and pupils	Teacher and pupils	Support assistant and pupils
-Flow of the lesson. -Significant moments at which the teacher provides support or initiates interaction with pupils or with support assistant. Details include; Time. Activities engaged in, Pupils involved. Forms of support provided, Interaction and Conversation.	-Person (pupil or teacher) supported by assistant. -How individual support begins, continues and ends. Details include; Movement. Time. Activities engaged in, Pupils involved. Forms of support provided, Interaction and Conversation.	-Flow of the lesson. -Significant moments at which the teacher provides support or initiates interaction with pupils or with support assistant. Details include; Time, Activities engaged in, Pupils involved. Forms of support provided, Interaction and Conversation.	Person (pupil or teacher) supported by assistant. -How individual support begins, continues and ends. Details include; Movement, Time, Activities engaged in, Pupils involved. Forms of support provided, Interaction and Conversation.

(Raw data of observation schedule/translation)

Raw data of observation schedule (example: Case 6)	*Translation*
	**(Left)** General information 1. Observer: Jiyoung Kim (myself) 2. Date/time: Monday, 20 June (2016)/ 10:40- 3. Class: Yewon Primary 6-4 4. Teacher /assistant : Ms. Oh/ not present 5. Subject/Activity : Art. Observation information 1. Method: Observation (not involved in the activity) 2. Focus: context of use of assitance 3. Observation note (back) **(Right)** The context of suppor assistance (From the modifiend WPR model) - Preparation - Deployment - Practice

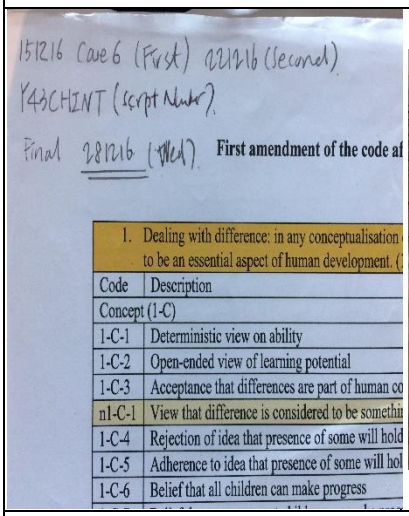
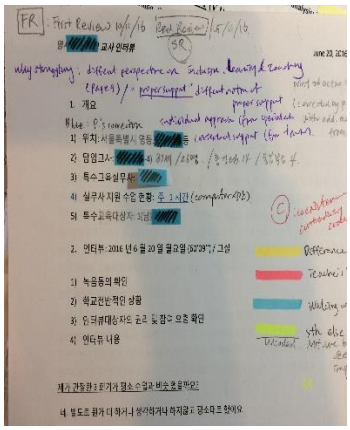
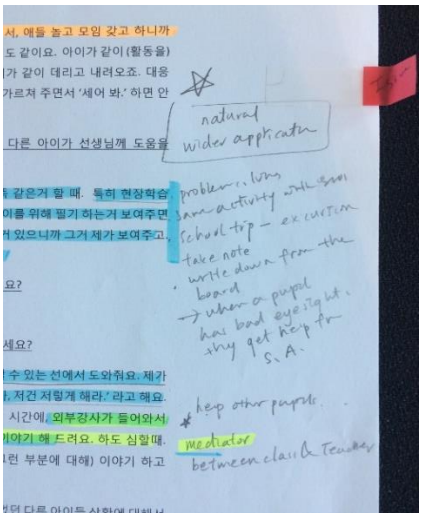
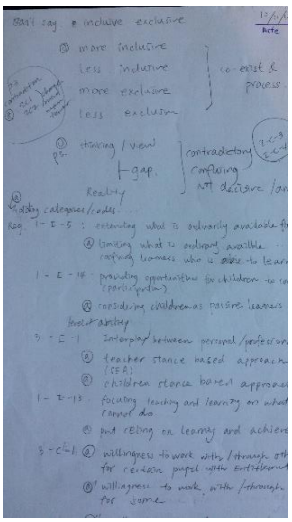
Appendix L. Case information

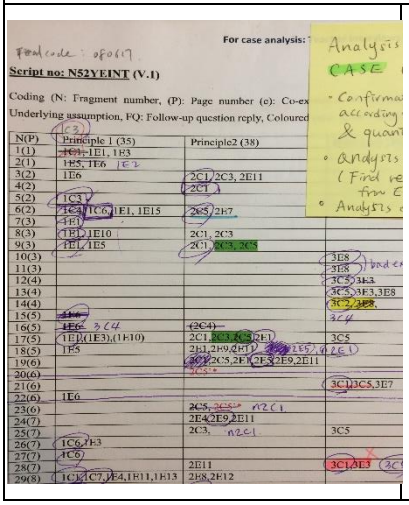
Case	School	Class			Teacher				Assistant			
		Year	Age/ Number	Pupil with SEN's stated special need	Teacher Name (Professional Identity)	G*	Exp.** (total/ mainstream class)	Length of main interview	Name (Qualification)	Employer	G*/ Exp.**	Length of main interview
1	Nalma Primary	P5	10-11/ 23	Autistic spectrum disorder	Mr. Yoo (Class teacher)	M	16(5)	46'17''	Mr. Park (N/A)	Ministry of National Defence	M/2	46'35''
2	Kawie Primary	P6	11-12/ 17	Cognitive development disorder	Mr. Jo (Class teacher)	M	3(1)	55'15''	Ms. Kim (Assistant for people with disabilities)	(Local self-governing body)	F/5	30'48''
3	Kawie Primary	P4	9-10/ 19	Cognitive development disorder	Ms. Park (Class teacher)	F	3(3)	42'04''	Ms. Cha (N/A)	Private (Parent)	F/2	28'37''
4	Yewon Primary	P4	9-10/ 24	Physical disability	Ms. Kim (Class teacher)	F	6(4)	81'23''	Ms. Lee (Social worker)	Seoul L.E.A.	F/11	62'29''
5	Koron Primary	P6(2)	11-12/ 20-25	Cognitive development disorder	Ms. Lee [13] English teacher	F	17(3)	53'30''	Ms. Choi (Nursery Assistant)	Seoul L.E.A.	F/11	35'28''
6	Yewon Primary	P6	11-12/ 26	Autistic spectrum disorder	Ms. Oh (Class teacher)	F	14(4)	60'09''	[14]Ms. Lee (Social worker)	Seoul L.E.A.	F/11	62'29''
7	Dawon Primary	P1	6-7/ 25	Cognitive development disorder with speech disorder	Ms. Han (Class teacher)	F	15(1)	51'55''	Ms. Shin (Nursery Assistant)	Seoul L.E.A.	F/5	44'39''

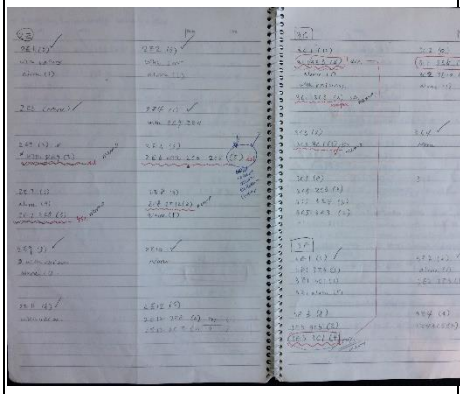
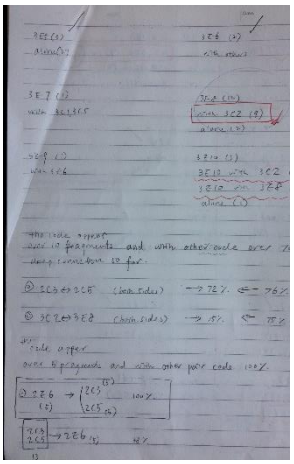
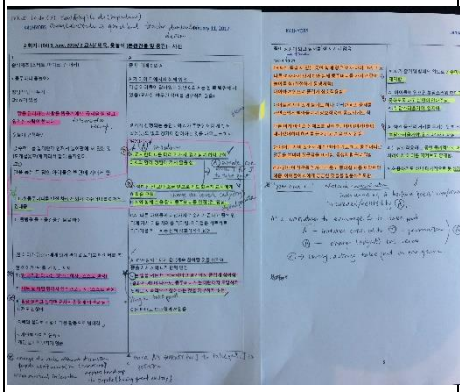
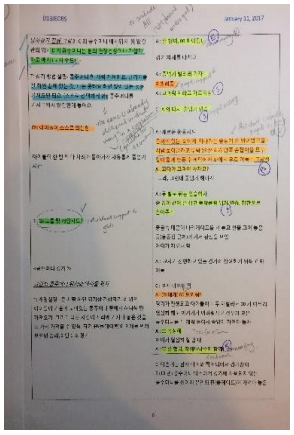
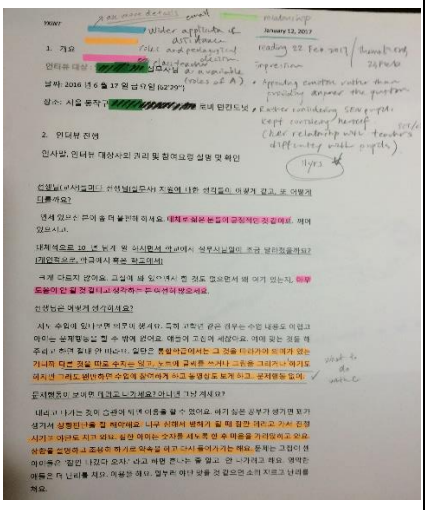
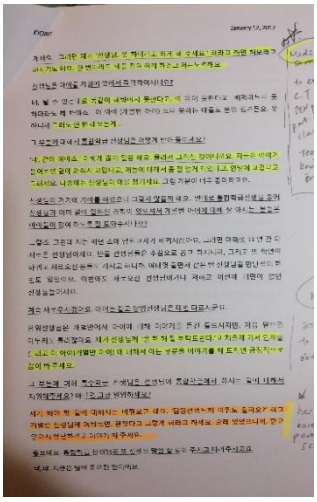
[13] English as a subject in S. Korean primary schools is partly run by co-teaching between a subject teacher and a native-speaking English teacher.

[14] The assistant is the same person in Case 4. She worked for both classes.

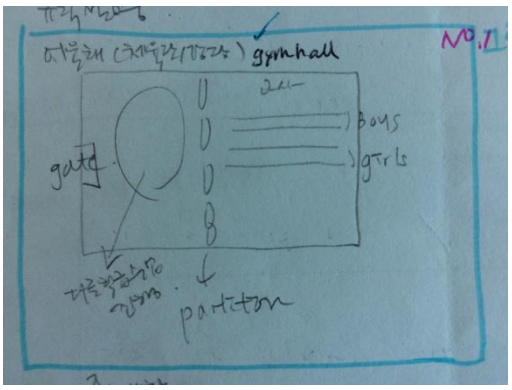
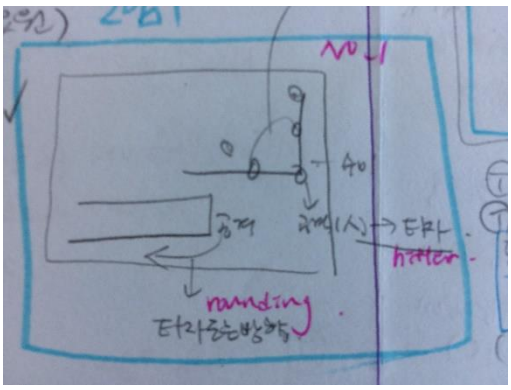
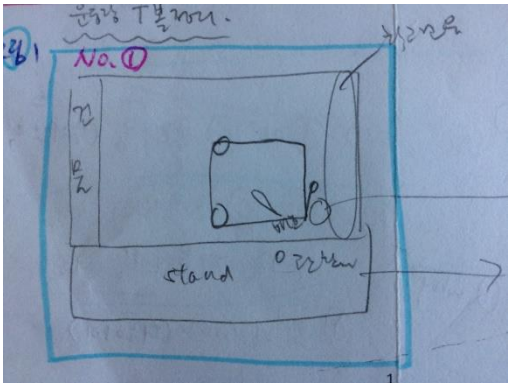
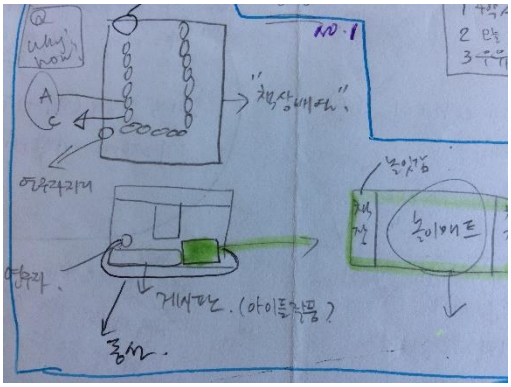
Appendix M. The use of memos as analytical process

<table>
<tr><td>Date of coding (First, second and final)</td><td>Use of memos</td></tr>
<tr><td> 
151216 Case 6 (First) 221216 (Second)
Y43CHINT (script Numb)
Final 281216 (Wed) First amendment of the code af
<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">1. Dealing with difference: in any conceptualisation to be an essential aspect of human development. (</td></tr>
<tr><td>Code</td><td>Description</td></tr>
<tr><td>Concept (1-C)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>1-C-1</td><td>Deterministic view on ability</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-C-2</td><td>Open-ended view of learning potential</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-C-3</td><td>Acceptance that differences are part of human co</td></tr>
<tr><td>n1-C-1</td><td>View that difference is considered to be somethi</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-C-4</td><td>Rejection of idea that presence of some will hold</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-C-5</td><td>Adherence to idea that presence of some will ho</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-C-6</td><td>Belief that all children can make progress</td></tr>
</table>

FR - First Review 16/1/16 Final Review 15/1/16
1. 개요
2. 면담: 2016 년 6 월 20 일 결과물 (SR2PT) 검생
1) 녹음동의 확인
2) 학교전반적인 상황
3) 인터뷰 대상자의 교육 및 참여 요청 확인
4) 인터뷰 내용
Difference
Teacher
Validity
Unrelated</td><td>(L) On the code list used for teacher interview, I wrote down script number, case number, and the date of coding. (R) On the transcribed interview script, I wrote down dates of coding (first and second) and main issues (the purple). The use of colours was for distributing fragments according to three principles and for highlighting un-coded but important fragments.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Emerging issues while coding (Teacher Interviews)</td><td>Use of memos</td></tr>
<tr><td> 
natural
wider applicatn
problem-solving
same activity with diff
school trip – excursion
take note
write down from the board
when a pupil has bad eyesight, why get help fr S.A.
help other pupils
mediator between class & Teacher
 
start say e inclusive exclusive
more inclusive
less inclusive
more exclusive
less exclusion
co-exist & process
gap
contradictory
confusing
Reality
not decisive</td><td>(L) Emerging issues were written on the transcribed interview scripts with highlighting and coding of the fragments.

(R) I also wrote issues on the separate analysis note, particularly, regarding rectifying, amending, and/or creating codes and then collated them to reflect issues in relation to other scripts for final decision.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Quantifying teacher interviews</td><td>Use of memos</td></tr>
<tr><td> 
For case analysis:
Analysis
CASE
Script no: N52YEINT (V.I)
Coding (N: Fragment number, (P): Page number (o): Co-ex
Underlying assumption, FQ: Follow-up question reply, Coloured
N(P) | Principle 1 (35) | Principle2 (38)
  </td><td>(L) Final decision on the codes applied. Each fragment (teacher interview) was recoded and collated according to the three principles.
(R) On the final version of the code list, each code applied to the script was numbered. They were used to quantify fragments to see the tendency of the teacher's thinking and practice.</td></tr>
</table>

Identifying co-relations between codes		*Use of memos*
		Using analysis note, co-relations between codes frequently appearing together were identified and the level of co-appearance (frequency and percentage) was calculated. It was used for re-arranging, deleting and merging codes for the final list.
Defining the context of support and emerging issues (Class observation)		*Use of memos*
		On the transcribed class observation, the support scenes were coloured according to subject and context. The type of each support assistance was defined by initial (e.g., T: task support). I also wrote down emerging issues that might have important implications and a summary of the pattern of support assistance.
Thematising and emerging issues (Assistant interviews)		*Use of memos*
		On the transcribed assistant interviews, the role of support assistants and the conditions affecting their work were thematised by highlighting. Emerging issues particulary those not categorised but distinctive and important (yellow) were also highlighted and noted.

Appendix N. The use of simple drawings while observing classes

<table>
<tr><td> 
</td><td> 
</td></tr>
<tr><td>Playgound layout</td><td>Movement of pupils</td></tr>
<tr><td> 
</td><td>  </td></tr>
<tr><td>Activity layout</td><td>Classroom layout</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix O. South Korean Education Statistics

(Korean Educational Statistics Service, 2017)

Main numbers in education

Classification	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Classes	Number of Staffs	Number of Graduates	Number of employees
Total	20,938	6,445,561	272,859	490,993	1,849,076	58,886
Primary	6,040	2,674,227	120,152	184,358	454,007	24,529

Number of schools

Classification	National (%)	State (%)	Private (%)	Total
Total	55 (0.3)	14814 (70.7)	6069 (29)	20938
Primary schools	17(0.3)	5949 (98.5)	74 (1.2)	6040
Special schools	5 (2.9)	76 (44)	92 (53.1)	173

Rates of enrolment

(Unit: %)

Year	Pre-primary education	Primary	Lower secondary, general programmes	Upper secondary, general programmes	Higher Education Graduates
2000	26.2	97.2	95.0	89.4	52.5
2017	50.7	97.3	94.2	93.7	67.6

Rates of enrolment by age group (comparing to OECD, 2015)

(Unit: %)

Classification	Age 5-14	Age 5-19
OECD	97	85
S. Korea	98	86

Number of pupils in a class (Class sizes)

Classification	Pre-primary education	Primary	Lower secondary, general programmes	Upper secondary, general programmes
2000	26.3	35.8	38.0	42.7
2010	21.0	26.6	33.8	33.7
2017	19.0	22.3	26.4	28.2

The figures relating to special and inclusive education (Ministry of Education, 2017)

Classification	Special School (%)	General school		Special education support centre (%)	total
		Special class (%)	General class (%)		
Total SEN pupils	25,798 (28.9)	47,564 (53.2)	15,590 (17.5)	401(0.4)	89,353
Primary school pupils	6,859	22,400	6,249	-	35,505
Teachers	8,242	10,658	-	427	19,327*
Assistants	3,615	7,116	439	-	11,170

* Includes substitute teachers.